

Synopsis of Spectrum's Modern History

Disclaimer: Though utmost care has been taken while preparing synopsis from Spectrum's Modern History. Readers are advised to kindly cross check all facts and figures and apply their own discretion. Any discrepancy if noticed, please bring in to our notice. We shall be highly thankful.

Chapter-1: Sources for the History of Modern India

Archive materials-	
Central government	National Archives of India, located in New Delhi . James Rennell as the first Surveyor General of Bengal in 1767.
State government-records comprise of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former British Indian provinces • princely states which were incorporated in the Indian Union after 1947 • the foreign administrations • Kingdom of Lahore popularly known as Khalsa Darbar • A pre-British public archive in India is the Peshwa Daftar-maratha kingdom housed in the Alienation Office, Pune. • Rajasthan State Archives at Bikaner-history of princely states • the history of Dogra rule from 1846 in Jammu and Kashmir-housed at jammu • Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal and Rewa, all archives in Madhya Pradesh, • Travancore and Cochin in Kerala, Mysore in Karnataka and Kolhapur in Maharashtra.
Three presidencies	Archives of Bombay Presidency, housed in the Maharashtra Secretariat Record Office, Mumbai, are extremely useful in studying the history of Western India
Other European rulers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dutch records of Cochin and Malabar are in the Madras Record Office and those of Chinsura in the state archives of West Bengal • The French archives of Chandernagore and Pondicherry (now Puducherry) • were taken to Paris • The archives of the Danish possessions were also transferred to Copenhagen when the Dutch sold Tranquebar and Serampore to the English East India Company in 1845. • The remaining Danish records relating to Tranqueba housed in the Madras Record Office
Judicial records-	The records of the Mayor's Court at Bombay established in 1728 are available in the Maharashtra Secretariat Record Office
Published records- Or Private archives-	Indian National Congress 's records are housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi
Foreign repositories-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Archives Nationale, Paris, and the Archives of the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Colonies and War, have records that throw light on the history of French possessions • The British Museum possesses collections of papers of British viceroys, secretaries of states and other high ranked civil and military officials who were posted in India • The record of the Dutch East India Company is available in Rijksarchief, The Hague, and that of the Danish and Portuguese are kept in Copenhagen and Lisbon, respectively.
Biographies, memoirs and travel accounts	Abbe Dubois -Hindu Manners and Customs
British travellers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Burnes -Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sindh • Alexander Burnes -Travels Into Bokhara • C.J.C. Davidson-Diary of the Travels and Adventures in Upper India • John Butler -Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam
Non-British travellers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victor Jacquemont-Letters from India describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore and Cashmere during the years 1828-1829— 1831 • Baron Charles -Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab

Newspapers and journals-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • first newspaper in India entitled The Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser Calcutta gazette-1784 • Madras courier-1788 • Bombay herald-1789 • The Hindu and Swadesamitran - G. Subramaniya Iyer, • Kesari and Mahratta - Bal Gangadhar Tilak, • Bengalee - Surendranath Banerjee • Amrita Bazaar Patrika - Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, • Sudhakar - Gopal Krishna Gokhale, • Indian Mirror - N.N. Sen, • Voice of India - Dadabhai Naoroji, • Hindustan and Advocate - G.P. Varma. • The Tribune and Akhbar-i-Am in Punjab • Indu Prakash, Dnyan Prakash, Kal and Gujarati in Bombay, • Som Prakash Banganivasi and Sadharani in Bengal • Indian nationalists and revolutionaries living abroad published newspapers and journals— Indian Sociologist (London, Shyamji Krishnavarma), • Bande Matram (Paris, Madam Cama), • Talwar (Berlin, Virendranath Chattopadhyay) • Ghadar (San Francisco, Lala Hardayal)
Oral evidence- Creative literature-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94)- Anand Math-sanyasi revolt of 1760 (1882),Rajasimha- his last work • Icharam Suryaram Desai-Hind ane Britanica-gujarati • Girija Devi and Ramatirtha Thammal, who wrote Mohanra Rajani (1931) and Dasikalin Mosa Valai (1936) respectively-tamil • G.V. Krishna Rao's Kilubommalu (The Puppets, 1956)-telugu • Vaikom Muhammad Basheer (1910-1994) - Balyakala Sakhi (The Childhood Friends,1944) • Thakazhi Siva Sankara- Tottiyude Makan (Son of a Scavenger, 1948) and Chemmin (Shrimps, 1956)- Malayalam
Painting-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Company Paintings, also referred as 'Patna Kalam' • Focused on street and bazar paintings shows british heroism and british sufferings in india. • Relief of Lucknow, painted by Thomas Jones Barker in 1859 • In Memoriam by Joseph Noel Paton, recorded in painting two years of the revolt of 1857 • Kalighat painting fore in Calcutta • Abaindranath tagore started Bengal school of painting
FORTS-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FORT WILLIAMS-BENGAL • FORT St. GEORGE-MADRAS • FORT St. ANGELO-MALABAR

Chapter-2: Major Approaches to the History of Modern India

Approaches-	
1. Colonial approach-	
Senses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The interpretation of history by imperialist and colonial school of thinkers. 2. It constitutes the Works influenced by the colonial ideology of domination 3. Features of this school are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Orientalist' representation of India; • The opinion that the British brought unity to India; • They brought notion like Social Darwinism and White Man's burden (That Indian's are unfit to rule themselves and hence British rule is necessary) • They brought "Pax Britannica" to bring law and order and peace to a stagnant society.
2. Nationalist approach-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economists-Dada bhai Naroji, MG Ranade, GV Joshi, RC Dutta. • Nationalists- Jawaharlal Nehru, GK Gokhale, etc and cultural nationalists like V.D.

	Savarkar, etc. They rejected the colonial claims. They called India as a 'nation in making'
3. Marxist approach	<p>Contradiction between interests of British rule and subject people. Marx called Revolt of 1857 as "Revolt of feudal class" and British rule as "Blessing in Disguise".</p> <p>M.N. Roy's Book 'India in transition' (1922) criticized congress as party of elites.</p> <p>Rajni Palme Dutta's -India Today (published in 1940 in England, 1947 in India). Sumit Sarkar Criticized Dutta's paradigm as a "simplistic version of the Marxian class approach".</p> <p>A.R. Desai's -Social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948)</p>
4. Subaltern approach-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contradiction between interests of elites and subaltern groups. • Criticized congress nationalism and condemned congress as a party of elites. • School of thought began- Ranjit guha
5. Communalist approach-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on the view that INM was characterized by mutual antagonism between two hostile groups like Hindu and Muslims.
6. Cambridge school-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fundamental contradiction under colonial rule was among the Indians themselves. • Nationalism was guided by animal instincts. • They considered India not as a Nation but only a geographical expression.
7. Liberal and neo-liberal interpretations-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Considered British rule as beneficial to both parties. • British rule in India has led to modernization of Indian economy and society.
8. Feminists approach-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Womens role in independence movements. • The High Caste Hindu Woman (1887) by Pandita Ramabai, • Mother India (1927) by Katherine Mayo

Chapter-3: Advent of the Europeans in India

A. The Portuguese in India-1498

1. Quest for and Discovery of a Sea Route to India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fall of Constantinople in 1453. • Red Sea trade route was a state monopoly to earn trade befits. • Arabs controlled the land routes to India. • spirit of the Renaissance promoted exploration in Fifteenth century • Prosperity as well as demand for oriental luxury goods also increased. • Prince Henry of Portugal, was nicknamed the 'Navigator' • Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), rulers of Portugal and Spain divided non-Christian world between them by an imaginary line in the Atlantic giving east to Portugal and West to Spain.
Portugese From Trading to Ruling	
1. Vasco Da Gama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vasco Da Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498, received by a Gujarati pilot named Abdul Majid, Zamorin was the ruler of Calicut • Arab traders had a good business on the Malabar coast • Participants in the Indian Ocean— Indians, Arabs, East Africa, Chinese, Javanese • Pedro Alvarez Cabral arrived in 1500 to trade for spices and negotiated to establish a factory at Calicut • Vascoda Gama set up a trading factory at Cannanore • Calicut, Cannanore and Cochin became the important trade centers of the Portuguese.
2. Francisco DeAlmeida	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1505, De Almeida was appointed as governor • Built fortresses at Anjadiva, Cochin, Cannanore and Kilwa • His policy was known as the Blue Water Policy (cartage system).

3. Alfonso de Albuquerque	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Real founder of the Portuguese power in the East Gained strongholds in East Africa, at Hormuz; in Malabar; and at Malacca. Sultan of Bijapur became the first of Indian Territory to come under the Europeans.
4. Nino da Cunha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> He arrived in 1529, HQ shifted from Cochin to Goa He was promised a base in Diu from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat
Favorable Conditions for Portuguese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gujarat was ruled by the powerful Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511) cannons placed on their ships of Portuguese

Portuguese Administration in India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Vedor da Fazenda, responsible for revenues and the cargoes and dispatch of fleets
Religious Policy of the Portuguese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intolerant towards the Muslims Zeal to promote christainity.
Portuguese Lose Favor with the Mughals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> William Hawkins with his ship Hector reached Surat in 1608. Jahangir appointed him as a mansabdar of 400 rank.
Capture of Hooghly-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1579, the Portuguese had settled down on a river bank and later migrated to Hooghly. On June 24, 1632-Hooghly was seized. Qasim Khan was the governor of Bengal
Decline of the Portuguese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emergence of the Marathas in their neighborhood and powerful dynasties in Egypt, Persia and North India. Religious policies of the Portuguese gave rise to political fears. Dishonest trade practices Earned notoriety as sea pirates After the fall of Vijayanagar Empire, Goa lost its importance as a port, which was later invaded by Marathas in 1683. Rise of Dutch and English commercial ambitions. Diversion towards Latin America.
Significance of the Portuguese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marked the emergence of naval power, cannon on ships and improved techniques at sea. The system of drilling groups of infantry, on the Spanish model, is counted as an important military contribution. (1630) Masters of improved techniques at sea

B. The Dutch-1596

	Cornelis de Houtman was the first Dutchman to reach Sumatra and Bantam in 1596.
Dutch Settlements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Dutch founded their first factory in Masulipatnam (in Andhra) in 1605 Captured Nagapatam near Madras (Chennai) from the Portuguese and made it their main stronghold in South India. The Dutch established factories on the Coromandel coast, in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bihar. In 1609, they opened a factory in Pulicat, north of Madras. Their other principal factories in India were at Surat (1616), Bimlipatam (1641), Karaikal (1645), Chinsura (1653), Baranagar, Kasimbazar (near Murshidabad), Balasore, Patna, Nagapatam (1658) and Cochin (1663). They carried indigo manufactured in the Yamuna valley and Central India, textiles and silk from Bengal, Gujarat and the Coromandel, saltpetre from Bihar and

	opium and rice from the Ganga valley.
Anglo-Dutch Rivalry	<ul style="list-style-type: none">English challenged the commercial interests of the Dutch.An agreement was concluded at Amboyna (a place in present-day Indonesia

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1667- Dutch left India and shifted to Indonesia. They monopolized the trade in black pepper and spices. The most important Indian commodities the Dutch traded in were silk, cotton, indigo, rice and opium.
Decline of the Dutch in India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Dutch got involved into the trade of the Malay and third rivalry occurred between English and Dutch (Third Anglo-Dutch War(1672-74)) Dutch won and treaty of West minister was concluded Their concerns were trade in the Spice Islands of Indonesia Dutch were finally defeated by English at Battle of bidara-1759 (Chinsura)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> C. The English-1599 	
Charter of Queen Elizabeth I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1599, a company named 'Merchant Adventurers' was formed. On December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth I gave exclusive trading rights to the company on the East Indies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Progress of the English Company 	
Foot hold in West and South	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1611, the English started trading and established a factory at Masulipatnam. In 1613, establish a factory at Surat under Thomas Aldworth In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe visited the court of Jahangir as an ambassador of King James. He got the permission to set up factories at Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach. Bombay was gifted to King Charles II by the King of Portugal as dowry to Charles in her daughter's wedding. In 1688, Bombay was given over to the East India Company on an annual payment of ten pounds only. In 1687, the HQ of western presidency was shifted from Surat to Bombay. The sultan of Golconda issued a golden farman to allow free trade at Golconda port on an annual payment of 500 Pagodas. In 1639, ruler of Chandragiri permitted to fortify a factory at Madrass which was called Fort St. George and became HQ for English in South India replacing Masulipatnam. In 1633, English extended their trading activities to the east and started factories at Hariharpur in the Mahanadi delta and at Balasore (in Odisha).
Foothold in Bengal	<p>In 1651, Shah Shuja, the <i>subahdar</i> of Bengal allowed the English to trade in Bengal at an annual payment of Rs3,000.</p> <p>Factories in Bengal were started at Hooghly (1651) and other places like Kasimbazar, Patna and Rajmahal.</p> <p>William Hedges was the first agent and governor of the Company in Bengal</p> <p>Shayista Khan was the Mughal governor of Bengal in August 1682.</p>

	<p>The English captured the imperial forts at Thana, east Midnapur and the Mughal fortifications at Balasore.</p> <p>In 1691, English received a farman to carry their trade indefinitely on payment of Rs. 3000 a year.</p> <p>In 1698, the English acquired the Zamindari rights on Sutanuti, Gobindapur and Kalikata village on payment of Rs 1,200.</p> <p>In 1700, the fortified settlement was named Fort William when it also became the seat of the eastern presidency (Calcutta) with Sir Charles Eyre as its first president.</p>
Farrukhsiyar's Farmans-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1708, British crown amalgamated the two companies under the title of 'United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies'. In 1715, Farrukhsiyar secured three famous Farmans called Magna Carta in Bengal, Gujarat and Hyderabad Coins started getting minted at Bombay by EIC and distributed all over the country. The custom duties on export and import by the company in Bengal was exempted on payment of Rs. 3000. Dastaks were issues for transportation purposes. EIC was exempted from the levy of all duties in surat on annual payment of 10000.
D. The French-1667	
Foundation of French Centers in India (Surat, Masulipatnam, Chandernagore)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1664, Louis XIV, laid the foundation of the French East India Company which was granted a 50-year monopoly. In 1667, Francois Caron visited India and set up a factory at SURAT headed an expedition to India, setting up a factory in Surat. In 1669, French founded another French factory in Masulipatnam in 1669 In 1673 they also established a township at Chandernagore near Calcutta.
PONDICHERRY- Core Centre of French Power in India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mahe, Karaikal, Balasore and Qasim Bazar were a few important trading centres of the French East India Company.
Early Setbacks to the French East India Company-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pondicherry was captured by Dutch in 1693. In 1697, Treaty of Ryswick was concluded to restore Pondicherry to the French, In 1720, the French company was reorganized as the 'Perpetual Company of the Indies'.
The Anglo-French Struggle for Supremacy: the Carnatic Wars	
Background of Rivalry	<p>It began with the outbreak of the Austrian War of Succession and ended with the conclusion of the Seven Years War.</p>
First Carnatic War (1740-48)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Around the <u>Carnatic and coromandal coast</u> Hostilities in India began with a British naval attack on a French fleet in 1745. War began in 1746 when France seized Madras. Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle was signed which concluded the Austrian war. Territories were given back to each other. The First Carnatic War is remembered for the Battle of St. Thome (in Madras)

Second Carnatic War (1749-54)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The background was provided by rivalry in India. • In 1748, the nawab of Hyderabad, Nizam-ul-Mulk died. Succession wars started between son Nasir Jung and Muzzafar Jung (Nominated). • The French supported the claims of Muzaffar Jang and Carnatic, while the English sided with Nasir Jang. • In 1749, the combined armies of Muzaffar Jang, Chanda Sahib and the French defeated and killed Anwaruddin (Associate of Nasir Jung) at the Battle of Ambur. • Muzaffar Jang became the subahdar of Deccan, and Dupleix was appointed governor of all the Mughal territories to the south of the River Krishna. • In August 1751, in retaliation Robert Clive attacked and captured Arcot. • The Treaty of Pondicherry was signed in 1754 bringing an end to the Second Carnatic War.
Third Carnatic War (1758-63)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Third Carnatic war was a local version of the Seven Years war in Europe. • In 1758, the French army captured the English forts of St. David and Vijaynagar • The third war spread in Bengal also. The British Forces were able to capture the French Settlements at Chandranagar in 1757. • Battle of Wandiwash won by the English on January 22, 1760 at Wandiwash (Tamil Nadu) • Treaty of Peace of Paris (1763) restored to the French their factories in India • Dutch had already been defeated in the Battle of Bidara in 1759.
Causes for the English Success and the French Failure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EIC being Private had less control from British government. French settlements were regulated by French governments. • EIC had a superior navy. • The English held three important places, namely, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras whereas the French had only Pondicherry. • The French subordinated their commercial interest to territorial ambition, which made the French company short of funds. • British had military and technological superiority.
E. The Danes-1620	
Danish Settlements	<p>Danes founded a factory at Tranquebar near Tanjore. Their principal settlement was at Serampore near Calcutta.</p>
Why the English Succeeded against Other European Powers?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EIC was well structured with annually elected board members. • Britain had one of the strongest navy of those times. • The advancements in Britain's forces, culture and technology due to early experiences of industrial revolution relative to their European powers. • British had superior and trained military officials • Stable government in Britain unlike other European powers. • Britain had lesser zeal for religious sentiments. • They well utilized the debt market

Chapter- 4: INDIA ON THE EVE OF BRITISH CONQUEST

Basic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) brought the decline of Mughal era. Muhammad Shah ruled for a long spell of 29 years unlike other Mughal rulers.
A. Challenges before the Mughals	
1) External Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Later Mughals neglected the north-western frontiers. In 1738-39, Nadir Shah of Persia, invaded India several times, conquered Lahore and defeated the Mughal army at Karnal He looted India with millions of rupees, peacock throne and Kohinoor diamond. In 1757, Ahmad Shah Abdali successor of Nadir Shah, captured Delhi In 1758, Najib-ud-Daula (agent of Abdali) was expelled from Delhi by the Maratha chief, Raghunath Rao, who also captured Punjab. In 1761, Abdali defeated the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat.
2. Internal Challenge : Weak Rulers after Aurangzeb	
Bahadur Shah I (1709 March 1712)	Khafi Khan gave the title of Shah-i-Bekhabar to Bahadur Shah. Adopted a pacific policy with the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Jats.
Jahandar Shah (1712-1713)	He is known for abolishing Jaziya and introducing izara system to improve the financial condition of the empire.
Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719)	He followed Akbar like policies of religious tolerance. He gave farman to British in 1717 to trade in India. In 1719, the Sayyid brothers (The king Makers) , with the help of Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath killed Farukhsiyar . He became first Mughal emperor to be killed by nobles.
Rafi-ud-Darajat (Feb-jun 1719) Rafi-ud-Daula (Jun- Sept 1719)	Sayyid brothers gave the title Shah Jahan II to Daula
Muhammad Shah (1719-48)	Raushan Akhtar – given title Muhammad shah and Rangeela In 1724, Nizam-ul-Mulk became the wazir and founded the independent state of Hyderabad. Mughal were defeated by Nadir Shah in battle of karnal during his period only.
Ahmad Shah (1748-1754)	Udham Bai , the ‘Queen Mother’, gave the title of Qibla-i-Alam ,
Alamgir II (1754-1758)	Ahmed Sahah Abdali attacked and Battle of Passey was fought during his reign.
Shah Alam II (1759-1806)	Battle of Panipat (1761) and Battle of Buxar (1764) were fought during his rule.. Treaty of Allahabad (August 1765) The Farman to allow the Diwani rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orrissa to British were issued by him.
Akbar II (1806-37)	He gave the title of Raja to Rammohan Rai . He stopped the coins bearing names of Mughal emperors.
Bahadur Shah II (1837-1857)	He was the last Mughal emperor . Captured by the English and sent to Rangoon where he died in 1862. Mughal Empire came to an end on November 1, 1858 with the declaration of Queen Victoria.

B. Causes of Decline of Mughal Empire

- Structure and functioning of the empire was too much Mughal centric.
- Turmoil and instability in the different parts of the empire.
- Successive emperors were weak and incapable
- **Major factors** which **contributed** to the downfall :-

Shifting Allegiance of Zamindars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The zamindars were hereditary owners of their lands who enjoyed certain privileges on hereditary basis. Disloyalties of many zamindars.
Jagirdari Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal and palace revolutions, succession wars, conflict with nobility, mutual rivalry, jealousy and contest for power among the various groups and absence of strong central leadership contributed to the decline of the empire.
Rise of Regional Aspirations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regional powers like Marathas and Rajputs rose to power.
Economic and Administrative Problems	Heavy expenditure on nobility, royalties, loots and invasions left and empty treasure .
Rise of Regional States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Successor States- Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad. Independent Kingdoms- Mysore, Kerala and the Rajput states. The New States -Maratha, the Sikh and the Jat states.
Survey of Regional Kingdoms	
Hyderabad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk Zulfikar Khan.gave the idea of an independent state in the Deccan In 1725, he became the viceroy and adopted the title of Asaf-Jah.
Awadh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saadat Khan, popularly known as Burhan-ul- Mulk, founded the independent state of Awadh. He was succeeded by Safdar Jang as the Nawab of Awadh
Bengal	<p>Murshid Kuli Khan founded the independent state of Bengal. Succeeded in 1727 by his son Shujaud- din. His successor, Sarfaraz Khan, was killed by Alivardi Khan in 1740</p>
Kerala	Martanda Varma established an independent state of Keral, Travancore being its capital. He extended his territories from Kanyakumari to Cochin .
The Jats	<p>Churaman and Badan Singh sfounded theJat state of Bharatpur. Power reached its Zenith under Surajmal, covering Ganga to Chambal, included the <i>Subahs</i> of Agra, Mathura, Meerut and Aligarh. The Jat state suffered a decline after the death of Suraj Mal in 1763.</p>
Mysore	<p>Founded by Wodeyar dynasty. Mysore state was brought under the rule of Haider Ali</p>
The Sikhs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sect was militarized under the leadership of Guru Gobind Singh Banda Bahadur, became the leader of the Sikhs in 1708.. Ranjit Sigh consolidated the empire into a strong hold. He conquered Lahore in 1799 and Amritsar in 1802. He signed a treaty with British called Treaty of Amritsar, acknowledging the British right over the cis- Sutlej territories. The Tripartite Treaty in 1838 with Shah Shuja and the British to provide passage to the British troops through Punjab with an aim of placing Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul.
The Marathas.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Under the Peshwas, the Marathas gained control over Malwa and Gujarat. Their authority was invaded by Ahmed Shah Abdali in the Third Battle of Panipat (1761).
Rohilakhand and Farukhabad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ali Muhammad Khan founded Rohilakhand situated between Kumaon in the north and the Ganga in the south. An Afghan ruler, Mohammad Khan Bangash, founded an independent kingdom in

	Delhi called Farrukhabad
Nature and Limitations of Regional States <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The functioning of these states largely remained regional in character, and functional with the collaborative support of the different local groups like the zamindars, merchants, local nobles and chieftains. Failed to establish a sound financial, administrative and military organization. The jagirdari crisis intensified as income from agriculture declined. 	
C. Socio-Economic Conditions	
Agriculture	It remained technically backward .
Trade and Industry	India was known as a "sink of precious metals" .
Items of Import	From the Persian Gulf Region — pearls, raw silk, wool, dates, dried fruits, and rose water; From Europe — woollen cloth, copper, iron, lead and paper From Tibet —gold, musk, and woollen cloth; From Arabia —coffee, gold, drugs, and honey; From China — tea, sugar, porcelain, and silk; From Africa —ivory and drugs;
Items of Export	Cotton textiles, raw silk and silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpetre, opium, rice, wheat, sugapepper and other spices, precious stones, and drugs.
Important Centers of Textile Industry	Dacca, Murshidabad, Patna, Surat, Ahmedabad, Broach, Chanderi, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow, Agra, Multan, Lahore, Masulipatnam, Aurangabad, Chicacole, Vishakhapatnam, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Madurai, etc.; Kashmir was a centre of woollen manufactures .
Ship-building Industry	Maharashtra , the Andhra and Telangana region and Bengal were the leaders in ship-building . Also, shipping was carried from Kerala's Calicut and Quilo .
Status of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hindu Elementary schools- Pathshala Muslim Elementary schools- Makhtabs. The education was confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Chatuspathis or Tols (Bihar and Bengal) were the centers of higher education. For Sanskrit education - Kasi (Varanasi), Tirhut (Mithila), Nadia and Utkala. Higher education centers of Persians and Arabs were called Madrasahs.
D. Societal Set-up	
1. Many Castes, Many Sects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Caste System and Patriarchy were the central feature of the social life of the Hindus.
2. Position of Women in Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Polygamy, Purdah, sati, child marriage, existed to hinder the progress of women While Upper class women were confined at home, lower class women were allowed to work in fields and outside their homes to supplement the family income.
3. Menace of slavery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher classes of Rajputs, Khatri and Kayasthas kept women slave for domestic work

4. Development in Art, Architecture and Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The pink city of Jaipur and five astronomical observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Benares, Mathura and Ujjain were built by Sawai Jai Singh. He also prepared a set of time-tables called Jij Muhammad-shahi, to help the people in the study of astronomy.. At Lucknow, Asaf-ud-Daula built the bada Imambara in 1784. Kanchan Nambiar was a noted Malayalam poet. The Tamil language was enriched by sittar poetry. Warris Shah composed Heer Ranjha, the romantic epic in Punjabi literature In Sindhi literature, Shah Abdul Latif composed Risalo, a collection of poems.
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Chapter- 5: Expansion and Consolidation of British Power in India

1. The Imperial History of British	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'first empire' - <u>Atlantic towards America and the West Indies</u>, 'second empire' - <u>East—Asia and Africa</u>. The imperial history of Britain started with the conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth century.
2. Purpose behind the British Conquest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Seeley holds that the British conquest of India was made blindly, unintentionally and accidentally, and in a "fit of absent-mindedness". His school argues that the British came to trade in India and had no desire to acquire territories. They argue that the English were unwillingly drawn into the political turmoil created by the Indians themselves, and were almost forced to acquire territories. The other scholars argues that the British came to India with the clear intention of establishing a large and powerful empire A desire for quick profits and personal ambitions of individuals were some of the factors.
3. Beginning of British Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some historians considers the year when the seven year war began. (1st Carnatic war) Some regards the year 1757, when the British defeated the Nawab of Bengal at Plassey, . Rest of the scholars consider 1761, when in the Third Battle of Panipat the Marathas were defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali, as the beginning of British rule in Indian history.
4. Why British Succeeded in India?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brilliant Leadership and Support of Second Line Leaders Clive, Warren Hastings, Elphinstone, Munro, Marquess of Dalhousie, etc., displayed rare qualities of leadership. Civil Discipline and Fair Selection System Recruitment and charges were given on the basis of merit and capability and not caste, class or race. Nationalist Pride The lack of materialistic vision among Indians Superior Arms, Military and Strategy The firearms used by the English, which included cannons and muskets, were better than the Indian arms in speed and range of firing Better Military Discipline and Regular Salary EIC ensured the loyalty of soldiers by giving a regular salary and maintained strict discipline among the troops. Strong Financial Backup The income of the Company was enough to pay its shareholders handsome dividends as also to finance the English wars in India.
5. British Conquest of Bengal	
a) Bengal on the Eve of British	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The present day states of West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha and also Bangladesh constituted the richest province of India i.e. Bengal. The population of Calcutta rose from 15,000 (in 1706) to 100,000 (in 1750) and other

Conquest	<p>cities like Dacca and Murshidabad became highly populous.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Company paid a sum of Rs 3,000 per annum to the Mughal emperor who allowed them to trade freely in Bengal. Exports from Bengal to Europe consisted of raw products such as saltpetre, rice, indigo, pepper, sugar, silk, cotton textiles, handicrafts, etc. Between 1757 and 1765, the power gradually got transferred from the Nawabs of Bengal to the British.
b) Alivardi Khan and the English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1741, Alivardi Khan, the Deputy Governor of Bihar, became the new Subedar of Bengal by killing the Nawab of Bengal Sarfaraz Khan He was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-daula after he died in April 1756
c) Challenges Before Siraj-ud-daula	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal rivals were added the threat to Siraj's position.
d) The Battle of Plessey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Black Hole Tragedy'. Siraj-ud-daula captured <u>146 English prisoners</u> in a very tiny room due to which 123 of them died due to suffocation. The Battle of Plassey: Robert Clive forged a secret alliance with the traitors of the nawab—Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh, Jagat Seth and Omichand. Under the deal, Mir Jafar was promised to be made the nawab who in turn would reward the Company for its services. Siraj-ud-daula was captured and murdered. Mir Jafar became the Nawab of Bengal. He gave large sums of money plus the zamindari of 24 parganas to the English. The political significance of the Battle of Plassey is that it laid the foundation of the British Empire in India; it has been rightly regarded as the starting point of British rule in India. The battle established the military supremacy of the English in Bengal.
Mir Kasim and the Treaty of 1760-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mir Kasim, the son-in-law of Mir Jafar, and the Company was signed the treaty in 1760. ➤ Important features of the treaty were as follows: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Mir Kasim agreed to cede to the Company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. Mir Kasim agreed to pay off the outstanding dues to the Company The Company would get half of the share in chunam trade of Sylhet. Mir Kasim promised to pay a sum of rupees five lakh towards financing the Company's war efforts in southern India. It was agreed that tenants of the nawab's territory would not be allowed to settle in the lands of the Company, and vice-versa. It was agreed that Mir Kasim's enemies were the Company's enemies, and his friends, the Company's friends. ➤ A pension of Rs 1,500 per annum was fixed for Mir Jafar. Mir Kasim shifted the capital from Murshidabad to Munger in Bihar. The move was taken to allow a safe distance from the Company at Calcutta. ➤ His other important steps were re-organising the bureaucracy.
e) The Battle of Buxar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The English company had obtained the right to trade in Bengal without paying transit dues or tolls by an imperial farman, On October 22, 1764, the combined armies of Mir Kasim, the Nawab of Awadh and Shah Alam II were defeated by the English forces under Major Hector Munro at Buxar. The victory made the English a great power in northern India and contenders for the supremacy over the whole country. After the battle, Mir Jafar, who was made Nawab in 1763 agreed to hand over the districts of Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong to the British for the maintenance of their army.
f) The Treaty of Allahabad	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> In August 1765, Robert Clive signed two important treaties at Allahabad—one with the Nawab of Awadh and the other with the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II. Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula agreed to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> surrender Allahabad and Kara to Emperor Shah Alam II; pay Rs 50 lakh to the Company as war indemnity and Gave Balwant Singh, Zamindar of Banaras, full possession of his estate

4. Dual Government in Bengal (1765-72)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Robert Clive introduced the dual system of government, i.e., the rule of the two—the Company and the Nawab—in Bengal in which both the diwani, i.e., collecting revenues, and nizamat, i.e., police and judicial functions, came under the control of the Company. • The Company acquired the diwani functions from the emperor and nizamat functions from the subahdar of Bengal. • The dual system led to an administrative breakdown and proved disastrous for Bengal.
6. Mysore's Resistance to the Company-	
The Wodeyar / Mysore Dynasty-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The battle of Talikota (1565) gave a deadly blow to the great kingdom of Vijayanagara. • A Hindu kingdom under the Wodeyars emerged in the region of Mysore in 1612 • Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar II ruled from 1734 to 1766. • Mysore emerged as a formidable power under the leadership of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan.
Rise of Haidar Ali-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haidar Ali became the de facto ruler of Mysore in 1761. He realized the importance of artillery to beat the Nizams • Haidar Ali took the help of the French to set up an arms factory at Dindigul, and also introduced Western methods of training in his army. • With his superior military skill he captured Dod Ballapur, Sera, Bednur, Hoskote as well as Poligars in 1761- 63, . • The Marathas under Madhavrao attacked Mysore, and defeated Haidar Ali in 1764, 1766, and 1771 with the help of British. And recovered all the territories during 1774-76.
First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Nizam, the Marathas, and the English allied together against Haidar Ali. • English conclude a treaty with Haidar on April 4, 1769—Treaty of Madras. • The treaty provided for the exchange of prisoners and mutual restitution of conquests.
Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haidar considered the English attempt to capture Mahe a direct challenge to his authority. • Haidar forged an anti-English alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam. • Hecaptured Arcot, and defeated the English army in 1781. • Haidar faced the English boldly only to suffer a defeat at Porto Novo in November 1781. • In an inconclusive war both sides opted for peace, negotiated the Treaty of Mangalore (March, 1784) under which each party gave back the territories it had taken from the other. • Haidar Ali died of cancer on December 7, 1782.
Third Anglo-Mysore War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In April 1790, Tipu declared war against Travancore for the restoration of his rights. In 1790, Tipu defeated the English under General Meadows. • In 1791, Cornwallis took the leadership and marched to Seringapatam. • Treaty of Seringapatam- Under this treaty of 1792, nearly half of the Mysorean territory was taken over by the victors. Baramahal, Dindigul and Malabar went to the English, while the Marathas got the regions surrounding the Tungabhadra and its tributaries and the Nizam acquired the areas from the Krishna to beyond the Pennar. Besides, a war damage of three crore rupees was also taken from Tipu.
Fourth Anglo-Mysore War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1798, Lord Wellesley succeeded as the new Governor General. • The war continued from April 17, 1799 to May 4, 1799 and ended up with the fall of Seringapatam in which Tipu was defeated twice. • The <u>English</u> were again helped by the Marathas and the Nizam. The Marathas had been promised half of the territory of Tipu and the <u>Nizam</u> had already signed the Subsidiary Alliance.
Mysore After Tipu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The English took possession of Kanara, Wynad, Coimbatore, Dwaraporam and Seringapatam • Wellesley offered Soonda and Harponelly districts of Mysore Kingdom to the Marathas, which the latter refused. • The Nizam was given the districts of Gooty and Gurramkonda..

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The new state of Mysore was handed over to Wodeyars under a minor ruler Krishnaraja III, who later accepted the subsidiary alliance. In 1831 William Bentinck took control of Mysore on grounds of misgovernance. In 1881 Lord Ripon restored the kingdom to its ruler.
7. Anglo-Maratha Struggle for Supremacy	
Rise of the Marathas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bajirao I (1720-40), considered greatest of all the Peshwas, had started a confederacy of Maratha power The Maratha families which emerged prominent were—(i) the Gaekwad of Baroda, (ii) the Bhonsle of Nagpur, (iii) the Holkars of Indore, (iv) the Sindhias of Gwalior, and (v) the Peshwa of Poona. The defeat at Panipat and later the death of the young Peshwa, Madhavrao I, in 1772, weakened the control of the Peshwas over the confederacy.
Entry of the English into Maratha Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The English wanted to establish a government in Bombay on the lines of the arrangement made by Clive in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82)-	<p>In 1772, after the death of Madhav Rao, his brother Narayanrao succeeded him as the fifth peshwa.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaties of Surat and Purandhar: Raghunathrao was unwilling to give up his position in power and sought help from the English at Bombay and signed the Treaty of Surat in 1775. Under the treaty, Raghunathrao ceded the territories of Salsette and Bassein to the English along with a portion of the revenues from Surat and Bharuch districts. In return, the English were to provide Raghunathrao with 2,500 soldiers. The British Calcutta Council condemned the Treaty of Surat (1775) and wanted a new treaty (Treaty of Purandhar, 1776) with the regency renouncing Raghunath and promising him a pension. The Bombay government rejected this and gave refuge to Raghunath. In 1777, Nana Phadnavis violated his treaty with the Calcutta Council by granting the French a port on the west coast. The English surrendered by January 1779 and signed the Treaty of Wadgaon which forced the Bombay government to relinquish all territories acquired by the English since 1775. Treaty of Salbai (1782): Warren Hastings, rejected the Treaty of Wadgaon and under Colonel Goddard captured Ahmedabad in February 1779, and Bassein in 1780. Another Bengal detachment led by Captain Popham captured Gwalior in 1780. In 1781 the English, finally defeated Sindhia at Sipri. The Treaty of Salbai was signed in May 1782; it was ratified by Hastings in 1782 and by Phadnavis in 1783, which guaranteed peace between the two sides for twenty years. The main provisions of the Treaty of Salbai were: The English should not offer any further support to Raghunathrao and the Peshwa should grant him a maintenance allowance. Salsette should continue in the possession of the English. Haidar Ali should return all the territory taken from the English and the Nawab of Arcot The whole of the territory conquered since the Treaty of Purandhar (1776) including Bassein should be restored to the Marathas. In Gujarat, Fateh Singh Gaekwad should remain in possession of the territory which he had before the war and should serve the Peshwa as before. The English should enjoy the privileges at trade as before. The Peshwa should not support any other European nation. The Peshwa and the English should undertake that their several allies should remain at peace with one another. Mahadji Sindhia should be the mutual guarantor for the proper observance of the terms of the treaty.
Second Anglo Maratha War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The death of Nana Phadnavis in 1800 gave the British an added advantage. A terrified Bajirao II fled to Bassein in 1802,

(1803-1805)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Treaty of Bassein (1802) the Peshwa agreed: • to receive from the Company a native infantry with the usual proportion of field artillery and European artillery men attached, to be permanently stationed in his territories; • to cede to the Company territories yielding an income of Rs 26 lakh; • to surrender the city of Surat; • to give up chauth on the Nizam's dominions; • to accept the Company's arbitration in all differences between him and the Nizam or the Gaekwad; • not to keep in his employment Europeans of any nation at war with the English; and • Treaty was signed by a Peshwa who lacked political authority, but the gains made by the English were huge. • The treaty "gave the English the key to India,"
• Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-19)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By the Charter Act of 1813, the East India Company's monopoly of trade in China (except tea) ended • Bajirao II made a last bid in 1817 by rallying putting the Maratha chiefs against the English for the Third Anglo-Maratha War. • The Peshwa attacked the British Residency at Poona. Appa Sahib of Nagpur attacked the residency at Nagpur. • The Peshwa was defeated at Khirki, Bhonsle at Sitabuldi, and Holkar at Mahidpur. • The Peshwa finally surrendered and the Maratha confederacy was dissolved. The peshwaship was abolished. Peshwa Bajirao became a British retainer at Bithur near Kanpur. • Pratap Singh made ruler of Satara, formed out of the Peshwa's dominions.
Why the Marathas Lost	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak Leadership-the later Maratha leaders Bajirao II, Daulatrao Sindhia and Jaswantrao Holkar were incapable and selfish leaders. • Loose Political Set-up of the maratha confideracy- The lack of a cooperative spirit among the Maratha chiefs proved • Inferior Military System Though full of personal prowess and valour, the Marathas were inferior to the English in organisation of the forces, in war weapons, in disciplined action and in effective leadership. • Unstable Economic Policy The Maratha leadership failed to evolve a stable economic policy • Superior English Diplomacy and Espionage The English had better diplomatic skill to win allies and isolate the enemy. • Lack of Unity among the Indian regional rulers who were largely selfish and power hungry • The English attacked a 'divided house' which started crumbling after a few pushes.
8. Conquest of Sindh-	
Rise of Talpuras Amirs-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sindh was ruled by the Kallora chiefs, prior to the rule of Talpuras Amirs,. • In the 1770s, a Baluch tribe called Talpuras, descended from the hills and settled in the plains of Sindh. • In 1783, the Talpuras, under the leadership of Mir Fath Ali Khan, established complete hold over Sindh • They conquered Amarkot from the Raja of Jodhpur, Karachi from the chief of Luz, Shaikarpur and Bukkar from the Afghans.
Gradual Ascendancy over Sindh-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The amir in October 1800, ordered the British agent to quit Sindh within ten days. • Treaty of 'Eternal Friendship'- • Metcalfe was sent to Lahore, Elphinstone to Kabul and Malcolm to Teheran. • After professing eternal friendship, both sides agreed to exclude the French from Sindh and to exchange agents at each other's court. • Treaty of 1832-The provisions of the treaty were as follows: • Free passage through Sindh would be allowed to the English traders and travellers and the use of Indus for trading purposes; however, no warships would ply, nor any materials for war would be carried. • No English merchant would settle down in Sindh, and passports would be needed

	<p>for travellers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Amirs would work with the Raja of Jodhpur to put down the robbers of Kachch. The old treaties were confirmed and the parties would not be jealous of each other. Lord Auckland and Sindh-Lord Auckland, who became the Governor-General in 1836, Tripartite Treaty of 1838- the Company persuaded Ranjit Singh to sign a tripartite treaty in June 1838 agreeing to British mediation in his disputes with the Amirs, and then made Emperor Shah Shuja give up his sovereign rights on Sindh, provided the arrears of tribute were paid. Sindh Accepts Subsidiary Alliance (1839)- B.L. Grover writes: "Under threat of superior force, the Amirs accepted a treaty in February 1839 by which a British subsidiary force had to be stationed at Shikarpur and Bukkar and the Amirs of Sindh were to pay Rs 3 lakh annually for the maintenance of the Company's troops". Capitulation of Sindh -The first Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42), fought on the soil of Sindh. The whole of Sindh capitulated within a short time, and the Amirs were made captives and banished from Sindh. In 1843, under Governor-General Ellenborough, Sindh was merged into the British Empire.
Criticisms of the Conquest of Sindh-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the instance of the First Afghan War, the English suffered terribly at the hands of the Afghans with a corresponding loss of prestige.
9. Conquest of Punjab	
Consolidation of Punjab under the Sikhs-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1715, Banda Bahadur was defeated by Farrukhsiyar and put to death in 1716. Thus the Shikh polity became leaderless and later got divided into two groups— Bandai (liberal) and Tat Khalsa (Orthodox). In 1784 Kapur Singh Faizullapuria organised the Sikhs under Dal Khalsa, with the objective of uniting followers of Sikhism, politically, culturally and economically. The whole body of the Khalsa was formed into two sections— Budha Dal (the army of the veterans) and Taruna Dal (the army of the young).
Ranjit Singh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ranjit Singh was appointed as the governor of Lahore in 1799. Ranjit Singh acquired Jammu and Amritsar in 1805 and thus both the political religious capital (Lahore and Amritsar) came under the rule of Ranjit Singh.
Ranjit Singh and the English-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Since the British became more assertive, Ranjit Singh agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar (April 25, 1809) with the EIC.
Treaty of Amritsar (1809)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The British wanted a defensive treaty against the French and control of Punjab to the Sutlej River. Ranjit Singh accepted the river Sutlej as the boundary line for his dominions and the English's. Now he directed his energies towards the west and captured Multan (1818), Kashmir (1819) and Peshawar (1834). In June 1838, Ranjit Singh was compelled by political compulsions to sign the Tripartite Treaty with the English
Punjab After Ranjit Singh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> After he died, troops became disappointed due to non-payment of salaries. This led to commotion, indiscipline and economic dislocation in Punjab. Daleep Singh, a minor son of Ranjit Singh, was proclaimed the Maharaja with Rani Jindal as regent and Hira Singh Dogra as wazir.
First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CAUSES: After Ranjit Singh's death, a power struggle between the court of Lahore and local army started. The number of English troops being stationed near the border with the Lahore were increased. The war began in December 1845 with 20,000 to 30,000 troops in the British side, while the Sikhs had about 50,000 men. Treachery of Lal Singh and Teja Singh caused five successive defeats to the Sikhs. Lahore fell to the British forces on February 20, 1846 without a fight. Treaty of Lahore (March 8, 1846) Sikhs were forced to sign a humiliating treaty on

	<p>March 8, 1846. The main features of the Treaty of Lahore were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War indemnity of more than 1 crore of rupees was to be given to the English. • The Jalandhar Doab) was annexed to the British. • A British resident was to be established at Lahore under Henry Lawrence. • The strength of the Sikh army was reduced. • Daleep Singh was recognised as the ruler under Rani Jindan as regent and Lal Singh as wazir. • Kashmir including Jammu was sold to Gulab Singh and he was required to pay Rupees 75 lakh to the Company as the price as war indemnity which was later formalized through a separate treaty. • Treaty of Bhairawal (December, 1846) -The Sikhs were dissatisfied with the Treaty of Lahore over the issue of Kashmir, so they rebelled. According to the provisions of this treaty, Rani Jindan was removed as regent and a council of regency for Punjab was set up. The council consisted of 8 Sikh sardars presided over by a English Resident
Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The immediate cause was an uprising in Mulan led by Sher Singh who was sent to suppress the revolt but he joined the rebels. • Three important battles were fought before the final annexation of Punjab. These three battles were: (i) Battle of Ramnagar. Battle of Chillhanwala, January, 1849. (iii) Battle of Gujarat, February 21, 1849; • The Sikh army surrendered at Rawalpindi, and their Afghan allies were chased out of India. • Consequences of war:- • The Sikh army and Sher Singh surrendered in 1849; • Punjab was annexed; setting up of a three-member board to govern Punjab, comprising of the Lawrence brothers (Henry and John) and Charles Mansel. • In 1853 John Lawrence became the first chief commissioner. • Significance: The Anglo-Sikh wars gave the two sides a mutual respect for each other's fighting prowess.
10. Extension of British Paramountcy through Administrative Policy-	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A two-fold method to continue annexation and to consolidate the paramountcy of British in India: (a) <u>policy of annexation by conquest or war</u>; and (b) <u>policy of annexation by diplomacy and administrative mechanisms</u>.
The Policy of Ring-Fence-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warren Hastings followed a <u>policy of ring-fence</u> which aimed at creating buffer zones to defend the Company's frontiers which was reflected in wars against Maratha and Mysore • The states brought under the ring-fence system were assured of military assistance against external aggression—but at their own expense. • Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliance was, in fact, an extension of the ring-fence system which sought to reduce the Indian states into a position of dependence on the British government.
Subsidiary Alliance-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The subsidiary alliance system was used by Lord Wellesley, (1798-1805) • The features of this policy were: • Permanent stationing of a British force within his territory and to pay a subsidy for its maintenance. • posting of a British resident in his court. • Indian ruler could not employ any European in his service without the prior approval of the British. • He could not negotiate with any other Indian ruler without consulting the governor-general. • In return , the British would defend the ruler from his enemies and adopt a policy of noninterference in the internal matters of the allied state. • It was Dupleix who started some of the features of this policy first. • The first Indian state to fell was Awadh which in 1765 • In 1787 the Company insisted that the subsidiary state should not have foreign relations. • Stages of Application of the policy-

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The first stage, the Company offered to help a friendly Indian state with its troops to fight any war the state might be engaged in. The second stage consisted of making a common cause with the Indian state now made friendly and taking the field with its own soldiers and those of the state. The third stage when the Indian ally was asked not for men but for money In the fourth or the last stage, the money or the protection fee was fixed, usually at a high level; when the state failed to pay the money in time, it was asked to cede certain parts of its territories to the Company in lieu of payment. States which Accepted Alliance-The Indian princes who accepted the subsidiary system were: the Nizam of Hyderabad (1798 and 1800), Mysore (1799), Tanjore (1799), Awadh (1801), the Peshwa (1801), the Bhonsle Raja of Berar (1803), the Sindhia (1804), the Rajput states of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Macheri, Bundi and Bharatpur (1818). The Holkars were the last Maratha confederation to accept the Subsidiary Alliance in 1818.
Doctrine of Lapse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To simply put, the doctrine stated that the adopted son could be the heir to his foster father's private property, but not the state; it was for the the British to decide whether to bestow the state on the adopted son or to annex it. Though, he is not the originator, this policy is attributed to Lord Dalhousie (1848-56). Seven states were annexed under the Doctrine of Lapse:-Satara (1848), Jhansi and Nagpur (1854), Jaitpur (Bundelkhand), Sambhalpur (Orissa), and Baghat (Madhya Pradesh). Lord Dalhousie annexed Awadh in 1856 on grounds of misgovernance.
11. Relations of British India with Neighbouring Countries	
Anglo-Bhutanese Relations-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1865, the Bhutanese were forced to surrender the passes in return for an annual subsidy.
Anglo-Nepalese Relations-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1801, the English annexed Gorakhpur which brought the Gorkhas' boundary and the Company's boundary together. The war, ended in the Treaty of Sagauli in 1816 which was in favour of the British. As a result of the treaty <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Nepal accepted a British resident. Nepal ceded the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon, and terai region. Nepal also withdrew from Sikkim. What British gained— <ol style="list-style-type: none"> the British empire now reached the Himalayas; it got better facilities for trade with Central Asia; it acquired sites for hill stations, such as Shimla, Mussoorie and Nainital; and the Gorkhas joined the British Indian Army in large numbers.
Anglo-Burmese Relations-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> British were lured by the forest resources of Burma First Burma War (1824-26)-when the Burmese expanded towards west and occupied Arakan and Manipur, and the threat to Assam and the Brahmaputra Valley. The British expeditionary forces occupied Rangoon in May 1824. Peace was established in 1826 with the Treaty of Yandabo which provided to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> pay one crore rupees as war compensation; cede its coastal provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim; abandon claims on Assam, Cachar and Jaintia; recognise Manipur as an independent state; accept a British resident at Ava, while posting a Burmese envoy at Calcutta. Second Burma War (1852)-A result of the British commercial need and the imperialist policy of Lord Dalhousie. The British merchants were keen to take timber resources of upper Burma and also sought to enter Burmese market. Third Burma War (1885)- A humiliating fine had been imposed on a British timber company by Thibaw. Dufferin ordered the invasion and final annexation of upper Burma in 1885.
Anglo-Tibetan Relations-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lamas ruled Tibet under nominal suzerainty of China. Treaty of Lhasa (1904)- Terms were

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tibet would pay an indemnity of Rs 75 lakh (one lakh per annum) as a security for payment, the Indian Government would occupy the Chumbi Valley (territory between Bhutan and Sikkim) for 75 years; Tibet would respect the frontier of Sikkim; Trade marts would be opened at Yatung, Gyantse, Gartok; and Tibet would not grant any concession for railways, roads, telegraph, etc., to any foreign state, but give Great Britain some control over foreign affairs of Tibet. After three years, the treaty was revised reducing the indemnity from Rs 75 lakh to Rs 25 lakh and providing for evacuation of Chumbi valley. Significance-Only China gained in the end out of the whole affair because the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907.
Anglo-Afghan Relations-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty of Turkomanchai (1828) The need was felt for Afghanistan to be under control of a ruler friendly to the British due to its strategic location. Forward Policy of Auckland who came to India as the governor-general in 1836, It implied that the Company government in India itself had to take initiatives to protect the boundary of British India A Tripartite Treaty (1838) was entered into by the British, Sikhs and Shah Shuja The treaty provided that— Shah Shuja be enthroned with the armed help of the Sikhs, the Company remaining in the background, Shah Shuja conduct foreign affairs with the advice of the Sikhs and the British; Shah Shuja give up his sovereign rights over Amirs of Sindh in return for a large sum of money; Shah Shuja recognize the Sikh ruler, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's claims over the Afghan territories on the right bank of the River Indus. First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842) The forward policy resulted in the First Afghan War. The British were compelled to sign a treaty (1841) with the Afghan chiefs by which they agreed to evacuate Afghanistan and restore Dost Mohammed. John Lawrence and the Policy of Masterly Inactivity-Two conditions (i) that the peace at the frontier was not disturbed, (ii) that no candidate in civil war sought foreign help. Lytton and the Policy of Proud Reserve- He started a new foreign policy of 'proud reserve', which was aimed at having scientific frontiers and safeguarding 'spheres of influence' Second Anglo-Afghan War (1870-80)- Sher Ali fled in face of the British invasion, and the Treaty of Gandamak (May 1879) was signed with Yakub Khan, the eldest son of Sher Ali. Treaty of Gandamak (May 1879) The treaty signed after the Second-Anglo Afghan War provided that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Amir conduct his foreign policy with the advice of Government of India; a permanent British resident be stationed at Kabul; and The Government of India give Amir all support against foreign aggression, and an annual subsidy.
British India and the North-West Frontier-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A compromise was finally reached by drawing a boundary line known as Durand Line between Afghan and British territories. Curzon- policy of withdrawal and concentration. He created the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) directly under the Government of India. In January 1932, it was announced that the NWFP was to be constituted as a governor's province. In 1947, the province was given to Pakistan.

Chapter- 6: People's Resistance Against British Before 1857

People's Resistance: Meaning

- The peasants, artisans, tribals, ruling classes, military personnel

	<p>(those under the Company as well as the demobilized soldiers of ex-rulers), religious leaders (Hindu and Muslim), etc., fought for the protection of their interests, at times separately and at times together.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The agitation in Benares in 1810 against a house tax imposed by the colonial government, the Surat riots in 1814 against the salt duty, the rising in Bareilly in 1816 against police tax and municipal taxes, are some examples of urban movements. According to Bipin Chandra, people's resistance took three broad forms: civil rebellions, tribal uprisings and peasant movements. Military revolts by Indians employed in the Company's forces are also considered.
Genesis of People's Resistance	
Causative Factors for People's Uprisings-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Causes of the revolt: Colonial land revenue settlements, heavy burden of new taxes, eviction of peasants from their lands, and encroachments on tribal lands. Exploitation in rural society coupled with the growth of intermediary revenue collectors, tenants and moneylenders. Expansion of revenue administration over tribal lands leading to the loss of tribal people's hold over agricultural and forest land. Promotion of British manufactured goods, heavy duties on Indian industries, especially export duties, leading to devastation of Indian handloom and handicraft industries. Destruction of indigenous industry leading to migration of workers from industry to agriculture, increasing the pressure on land/agriculture.
Civil Uprisings – Major Causes of Civil Uprisings	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were rapid changes in the economy, administration and land revenue system under the Company rule, that went against the wishes of people. Several zamindars and poligars who had lost control over their land and its revenues due to the colonial rule, had personal scores to settle with the new rulers. The ego of traditional zamindars and poligars was hurt due to being sidelined in rank by government officials and a new class comprising of merchants and money-lender. Indian handicraft industries were ruined due to colonial policies, impoverished millions of artisans whose misery was increased by the disappearance of their traditional patrons and buyers—princes, chieftains, and zamindars. The fall of zamindars and feudal lords directly affected the priestly class because the religious preachers, priests, pundits, maulvis, etc., had been dependent on the traditional landed and bureaucratic elite. The foreign character of the British rulers and their contemptuous treatment of the native people hurt the pride of the latter. 	
Important Civil Uprisings-	
i) Sanyasi Revolt (1763-1800)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sometimes referred to as the Fakir Rebellion A group of sanyasis in Eastern India rose to fight the British. They raided Company factories and the treasuries, and fought the Company's forces. Majnum Shah, Chirag Ali, Musa Shah, Bhawani Pathak and Debi Chaudhurani were important leaders. Debi Chaudhurani's participation recognizes the women's role in early resistances against the British. Anandamath, a semi-historical novel by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, is based on the Sanyasi Revolt. He also wrote "Devi Chaudhurani".
ii) Revolt in Midnapore & Dhalbhum (1766-74)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The English occupied Midnapore in 1760. The zamindars were ultimately dispossessed of their zamindaries by 1800s. The main leaders of the uprisings were Damodar Singh and Jagannath Dhal.
iii) Revolt of Moamarias (1769-99)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The revolt of the Moamarias in 1769 challenged the authority of Ahom kings of Assam. The Moamarias were low-caste peasants who followed the teachings of Aniruddhadeva (1553-1624). Their revolts weakened the Ahoms and opened the doors for others to attack the region.

	The Moamarias made Bhatiapar their headquarters. Rangpur (now in Bangladesh) and Jorhat were the most affected region.
iv) Civil Uprisings in Gorakhpur, Basti and Bahraich (1781)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warren Hastings made a plan to earn money by involving English officers as izaradars (revenue farmers) in Awadh. • The zamindars and cultivators rose against the unbearable exaction in 1781.
v. Revolt of Raja of Vizianagaram (1794)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1758, a treaty was made between the English and Ananda Gajapatiraju, the ruler of Vizianagaram, to jointly oust the French from the Northern Circars. • The East India Company went on to demand a tribute of three lakh rupees from Vizayaramaraju, the Raja of Vizianagaram. • This angered the raja and he rose to revolt.
vi. Revolt of Dhundia in Bednur (1799-1800)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dhundia Wagh, a local Maratha leader, organized a force which consisted of anti-British elements, and carved out a small territory for himself. • Defeated by the English he took refuge in Maratha region. • In September 1800, he was killed while fighting against the British forces under Wellesley.
Vii Resistance of Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja (1797; 1800-05)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja, popularly known as Kerala Simham (Lion of Kerala) was the de facto head of Kottayam in Malabar region. • Kerala Varma fought against the British between 1793 and 1805. The English appointed Vira Varma, the uncle of Pazhassi Raja, as the Raja of Kottayam. The new raja, to meet the revenue target fixed by the Company, levied exorbitant rates of tax on the peasants. • This led to a mass resistance by the peasants under the leadership of Pazhassi Raja in 1793. Pazhassi Raja fought bravely using guerilla warfare, and in 1797 a peace treaty was made in November 1805, the Kerala Simham died in a gun-fight at Mavila Todu near present day Kerala- Karnataka border.
viii. Civil Rebellion in Awadh (1799)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wazir Ali Khan, the fourth Nawab of Awadh, with the help of the British, had ascended the throne in September 1797. • In January 1799, he killed a British resident, who had invited him to lunch. Wazir Ali's guards killed two other Europeans and even attacked the Magistrate of Benares. • The whole incident became famous as the Massacre of Benares. He surrendered in 1799.
Ix Uprisings in Ganjam and Gumsur (1800, 1835-37)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strikara Bhanj, a zamindar of Gumsur in Ganjam district, refused to pay revenues in 1797. In 1800, he openly rebelled and defied the public authorities. Dhananjaya rebelled against the English but was forced to surrender in June 1815. • Dhananjay Bhanj rose in rebellion for the second time when the British forces occupied Gumsur and Kolaida in November 1835. • The revolt greatly reduced the government's authority and lasted till 1837.
X Uprisings in Palamau (1800-02)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1800, Bhukhan Singh, a Chero chief, rose in rebellion. Colonel Jones camped for two years in Palamau and Sarguja to curb the rebellion.
xi. Poligars' Revolt (1795-1805)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The main centres of these strong uprisings were Tinneveli (or Thirunelveli), Ramanathapuram, Sivaganga, Sivagiri, Madurai, and North Arcot. • The problem started in 1781, when the Nawab of Arcot gave the management and control of Tinneveli and the Carnatic Provinces to the East India Company. • The first revolt of the poligars against the Company was basically over taxation, but had a larger political dimension in that the English considered and treated the poligars as enemies. • Kattabomman Nayakan, led the insurrection between 1795 and 1799. • Between 1803 and 1805, the poligars of North Arcot rose in rebellion, when they were deprived of their right to collect the kaval fees. By February 1805, the rebels were suppressed.
xii) Diwan Velu Thampi's Revolt (1808-1809)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The highhanded attitude of the Company compelled Prime Minister Velu Thampi to rise against the Company, assisted by the Nair troops. • Velu Thampi addressed a gathering in Kundara, openly called for taking up arms against the British to oust them from the native soil.
xiii) Disturbances in Bundelkhand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vast province of Bundelkhand, conquered by the British during the Second Anglo-Maratha Wars (1803-05), was put within the Presidency of Bengal.

(1808-12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first major resistance came from Lakshaman Dawa, who was permitted to retain the fort as a temporary arrangement for two years ending in 1808. • The next resistance came from killadar of Kalanjar, Darya Singh, which was suppressed in January 1812. • The most serious threat came from Gopal Singh. To put a stop to these disturbances, the British had to adopt a policy of binding down the hereditary chieftains of Bundelkhand by a series of contractual obligations..
xiv. Kutch or Cutch Rebellion (1816-1832)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The British interfered in the internal feuds of the Kutch and, in 1819, Raja Bharmal II raised Arab and African troops with the firm intention to remove the British from his territory.
xv. Paika Rebellion (1817)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Paikas of Odisha were the traditional landed militia and enjoyed rent free land tenures for their military service and policing functions on a hereditary basis. • The English Company's conquest of Odisha in 1803, and the dethronement of the Raja of Khurda. • Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar, a military chief, his ancestral estate of Killa Rorang was taken over by the Company, reducing him to penury. • Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar led a sundry army of Paikas forcing the East India Company forces to retreat for a time. • The rebellion came to be known as the Paika Bidroh. The Paik Rebellion succeeded in getting large remissions of arrears, reductions in assessments, suspension of the sale of the estates of defaulters at discretion, a new settlement on fixed tenures and other adjuncts of liberal governance.
xvi) Kolhapur and Savantvadi Revolts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Gadkaris rose in revolt and occupied the Samangarh and Bhudargarh forts due to high unemployment. • Similarly, the simmering discontent caused a revolt in Savantvadi areas.
xvii) Kuka Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Kuka Movement was founded in 1840 by Bhagat Jawahar Mal (also called Sian Saheb) in western Punjab. • Its basic tenets were abolition of caste and similar discriminations among Sikhs, discouraging the consumption of meat and alcohol and drugs, permission for intermarriages, widow remarriage, and encouraging women to step out of seclusion. • On the political side, the Kukas wanted to remove the British and restore Sikh rule over Punjab; they advocated wearing hand-woven clothes and boycott of English laws and education and products. • So, the concepts of Swadeshi and non-cooperation were propagated by the Kukas.
Peasant Movements with Religious Overtones	
1. Narkelberia Uprising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mir Nithar Ali (1782-1831) or Titu Mir inspired the Muslim tenants in West Bengal to rise against landlords, mainly Hindu, who imposed a beard-tax on the Faraizis, and British indigo planters. • Often considered the first armed peasant uprising against the British later merged into the Wahabi movement.
2. The Pagal Panthis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Pagal Panthi, a semi-religious group mainly constituting the Hajong and Garo tribes of Mymensingh district (earlier in Bengal), was founded by Karam Shah. • The tribal peasants organized themselves to fight the oppression of the zamindars. From 1825 to 1835, the Pagal Panthis refused to pay rent above a certain limit
iii. Faraizi Revolt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Faraizis were the followers of a Muslim sect founded by Haji Shariat-Allah of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal. They advocated radical religious, social and political changes. • Shariat-Allah son of Dadu Mian (1819-60) organized his followers to expel the English intruders from Bengal. • The sect also supported the cause of the tenants against the zamindars.
iv. Moplah Uprisings (1836 and 1854)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hike in revenue demand and reduction of field size, coupled with the oppression of officials, resulted in widespread peasant unrest among the Moplahs of Malabar. Twenty- two rebellions took place between
v. Peasants' Role in the 1857 Revolt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They united with the local feudal leaders in many places to fight against foreign rule. After the revolt, the plight of the peasants worsened with the British Government's decision to gain

	the support of the landed classes while ignoring the peasants.
Tribal Revolts	
Different Causes for Mainland and North-Eastern Tribal Revolts-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The land settlements of the British affected the joint ownership tradition • Some general laws were also Critical for their intrusive nature • Due to unfavorable agricultural reforms the tribal lost their land, Shifting cultivation in forests was curbed and this added to the tribal issues. • Exploitation by the police, traders and money-lenders. • The frontier tribal revolts under the British continued for a longer time than the non- frontier tribal movements.
Characteristics of Tribal Revolts-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tribal identity or ethnic ties lay behind the solidarity shown by these groups. • The protests against the foreign laws were seen as an effort at destroying the tribal' traditional socioeconomic framework. • Many uprisings were led by messiah-like figures who encouraged their people to revolt • The tribal uprisings were doomed from the beginning, given the outdated arms
Important Tribal Movements of Mainland-	
1. Pahariyas' Rebellion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The British expansion on their territory led to a revolt by the martial <u>Pahariyas of the Raj Mahal Hills in 1778.</u> • The British were forced to settle in peace by declaring their territory as damni- kol area.
2. Chuar Uprising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Famine, enhanced land revenue demands and economic distress of aboriginal tribal. • The uprising lasted from 1766 to 1772 and then, again surfaced between 1795 and 1816.
3. Kol Mutiny (1831)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Kols, alongwith other tribes, are inhabitants of Chhotanagpur covering Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau and the western parts of Manbhum. • The revolt started because of large scale transfers of land from Kol headmen to outsiders. The British judicial and revenue policies badly affected the traditional social conditions of the Kols. The Kols resented this and in 1831, under the leadership of <u>Buddho Bhagat,</u>
4. Ho and Munda Uprisings (1820-1837)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Raja of Parahat organized his Ho tribal to revolt against the occupation of Singhbhum • In 1831organised a rebellion, joined by the Mundas of Chotanagpur, to protest against the newly introduced farming revenue policy and the entry of Bengalis into their region.
5. The Santhal Rebellion (1855-56)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continued oppression of the Santhals (Bihar) led to the Santhal rebellion against the zamindars. • The rebellion turned into an anti-British movement. Under <u>Sidhu and Kanhu,</u> two brothers, the Santhals proclaimed an end to Company rule, and declared the area between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal as autonomous.
6. Khond Uprisings (1837-1856)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From 1837 to 1856, the Khonds of the hilly tracts extending from Odisha to the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh revolted against Company rule.
7. Koya Revolts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Koyas of the Godavari joined by Khonda Sara chiefs, rebelled in 1803, 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861 and 1862. • Their complaints were oppression by police and moneylenders, new regulations and denial of their customary rights over forest areas.
8. Bhil Revolts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bhils who lived in the Western Ghats revolted against Company rule in 1817-19, as they had to face famine, economic distress and misgovernment.
9. Koli Risings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Kolis, neighbor of Bhils rose up in revolt against the Company's rule in 1829, 1839 and again during 1844-48.
10. Ramosi Risings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Ramosis, the tribes of the Western Ghats, had not reconciled to British rule and the British pattern of administration. • They rose under <u>Chittur Singh</u> in 1822 and plundered the country around Satara.
Sepoy Mutinies -	
Causes-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the government refused to pay foreign service allowance while fighting in remote regions • Discrimination in payment and promotions • Mistreatment of the sepoys by the British officials • Religious objections of the high caste Hindu sepoys to <u>Lord Canning's General Service Enlistment Act (1856)</u>
Important Mutinies-	<p>The most important mutinies which broke out during the pre- 1857 period are the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The mutiny of the sepoys in Bengal in 1764.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The Vellore mutiny of 1806 when the sepoys protested against interference in their social and religious practices and raised a banner of revolt unfurling the flag of the ruler of Mysore. The mutiny of the sepoys of the 47th Native Infantry Unit in 1824. The revolt of the Grenadier Company in Assam in 1825. The mutiny of an Indian regiment at Sholapur in 1838. The mutinies of the 34th Native Infantry (1844.), the 22nd N.I. (1849), the 66th N.I. (1850) and the 37th N.I. (1852).
Weaknesses of People's Uprisings-	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Localized and occurred at different times in different regions. Mostly arose out of local grievances. The leadership was semi-feudal in character, backward looking, traditional in outlook The resistance did not offer alternatives to the existing social set-up. These rebellions were centuries-old in form and ideological / cultural content. Some were pacified through concessions by the authorities. The methods and arms used by the fighters in these uprisings were practically obsolete compared to the weapons and strategy employed by their opponents 	

Chapter-7: The Revolt of 1857

1. Simmering Discontent-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The accumulated frustration of people burst in the form of a violent storm in 1857 which shook the British Empire in India to its very foundations.
2. The 1857 Revolt: the Major Causes-	
Economic Causes-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The colonial policies of the company rule destroyed the traditional economic fabric of the Indian society. British rule caused grave misery to the artisans and handicrafts people because of loss of patronage. Imposition of High tariff duties on Indian manufactured goods and resultant crippling of mercantile class by the British. At the same time, the import of British goods into India attracted low tariffs, thus encouraging their entry into India. Free Trade and refusal to impose protective duties against machine-made goods from Britain simply killed Indian manufacture. Zamindars, often saw their land rights forfeited with frequent use of a quo warranto by the administration. EXAMPLE- In Awadh, the storm centre of the revolt, 21,000 taluqdars had their estates confiscated and suddenly found themselves without a source of income, "unable to work, ashamed to beg, condemned to penury". The ruin of Indian industry increased the pressure on agriculture and land.
Political Causes-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The East India Company's greedy policy of aggrandizement accompanied by broken pledges and promises resulted in contempt for the Company and loss of political prestige, besides causing suspicion in the minds of almost all the ruling princes in India, through policies as of 'Effective Control', 'Subsidiary Alliance' and 'Doctrine of Lapse'.
Administrative Causes-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rampant corruption in the Company's administration, especially among the police, petty officials and lower law courts, was a major cause of discontent.
Socio-Religious Causes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Racial overtones and a superiority complex characterized the British administrative attitude towards the native Indian population. The government's decision to tax mosque and temple lands and making laws such as the Religious Disabilities Act, 1856
Influence of Outside Events-	The revolt of 1857 coincided with simultaneous external conflicts and wars in which the British suffered serious losses for e.g. the First Afghan War (1838-42) , Punjab Wars (1845-49) , and the Crimean Wars (1854-56) .
Discontent Among Sepoys-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The conditions of service in the Company's Army and cantonments increasingly came into conflict with the religious beliefs and prejudices of the sepoys. In 1856, Lord Canning's government passed the General Service Enlistment Act which decreed that all future recruits to the Bengal Army would have to give an undertaking to serve anywhere as required by the government. This caused resentment.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate cause of the sepoys' dissatisfaction was the order that they would not be given the foreign service allowance (bhatta) when serving in Sindh or in Punjab. • History of revolts in the British Indian Army—in Bengal (1764), Vellore (1806), Barrackpore (1825) and during the Afghan Wars (1838-42).
3. Beginning and Spread of the Revolt-	
The Spark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The reports about the mixing of bone dust in atta (flour) and the introduction of the Enfield rifle caused the resentment among sepoys.. • The greased wrapping paper of the cartridge of the new rifle had to be bitten off before loading and the grease was reportedly made of beef and pig fat.
Starts at Meerut-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The revolt began at Meerut, on May 10, 1857 and then, gathering force rapidly, soon embraced a vast area from the Punjab in the north and the Narmada in the south to Bihar in the east and Rajputana in the west. • Sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry, Mangal Pande, went a step further and fired at the sergeant major of his unit at Barrackpore. • On April 24, ninety men of the 3rd Native Cavalry refused to accept the greased cartridges. • On May 9, eighty-five of them were dismissed, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and put in fetters. • On May 10, they released their imprisoned comrades, killed their officers and unfurled the banner of revolt.
Choice of Bahadur Shah as Symbolic Head-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making the Mughal ruler the leader was a recognition of the fact that the long reign of Mughal dynasty had become the traditional symbol of India's political unity. • The entire Bengal Army soon rose in revolt which spread quickly. Awadh, Rohilkhand, the Doab, Bundelkhand, central India, large parts of Bihar and East Punjab shook off British authority.
Civilians Join-	The revolt of the sepoys was accompanied by a civil rebellion, particularly in the north-western provinces and Awadh. the peasants and petty zamindars took advantage of the revolt to destroy the money-lenders' account books and debt records.
Storm Centres and Leaders of the Revolt-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At Delhi the real command lay with a court of soldiers headed by General Bakht Khan faced the repression by Sir Hugh Wheeler • Nana Saheb expelled the English from Kanpur, proclaimed himself the peshwa, acknowledged Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of India and declared himself to be his governor. • Begum Hazrat Mahal took over the reigns at Lucknow where the rebellion broke out on June 4, 1857 and the city was finally recovered by the British in March. • At Bareilly, Khan Bahadur, a descendant of the former ruler of Rohilkhand, he organized an army and offered stiff resistance to the British. • In Bihar, the revolt was led by Kunwar Singh, the zamindar of Jagdishpur. He unhesitatingly joined the sepoys when they reached Arrah from Dinapore (Danapur). • Maulvi Ahmadullah of Faizabad fought a stiff battle against the British troops. He emerged as one of the revolt's acknowledged leaders once it broke out in Awadh in May 1857. • Rani Laxmibai, who assumed the leadership of the sepoys at Jhansi. The Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Tope marched towards Gwalior was recaptured by the English in June, 1858.
Suppression of the Revolt-	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The revolt was finally suppressed. Mughal finally perished completely. The British captured Delhi on September 20, 1857 Sir Colin Campbell occupied Kanpur on December 6, 1857. Tantia Tope was captured while asleep in April 1859 and put to death. The Rani of Jhansi had died on the battlefield earlier in June 1858. Jhansi was recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose. The British Resistance <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Delhi - Lieutenant Willoughby, John Nicholson, Lieutenant Hudson Kanpur - Sir Hugh Wheeler, Sir Colin Campbell Lucknow - Henry Lawrence, Brigadier Inglis, Henry Havelock, James Outram, Sir Colin Campbell Jhansi - Sir Hugh Rose Benaras - Colonel James Neill
5. Why the Revolt Failed	
All-India	Limited territorial spread was one factor; there was no all- India leader in the revolt.

participation was absent-	
All classes did not join-	<p>Big zamindars acted as “break-waters to storm”; even Awadh taluqdars backed off once promises of land restitution were spelt out.</p> <p>Educated Indians viewed this revolt as backward looking, supportive of the feudal order and as a reaction of traditional conservative forces to modernity.</p> <p>Some rulers did not participate included the Sindhia of Gwalior, the Holkar of Indore, the rulers of Patiala, Sindh and other Sikh chieftains and the Maharaja of Kashmir</p>
Poor Arms and Equipment-	The Indian soldiers were poorly equipped materially, fighting generally with swords and spears and very few guns and muskets.
Uncoordinated and Poorly Organized	<p>i. The revolt was poorly organized with no coordination or central leadership.</p> <p>ii. The principal rebel leaders—Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh, Laxmibai.</p> <p>iii. The mutineers lacked a clear understanding of colonial rule; no forward looking programme, no coherent ideology, no political perspective or a societal alternative.</p>
6. Hindu-Muslim Unity Factor-	<p>i. According to <u>Maulana Azad</u>, “Two facts stand out clearly in the midst of the tangled story of the Rising of 1857. The first is the remarkable sense of unity among the Hindus and the Muslims of India in this period. The other is the deep loyalty which the people felt for the Mughal Crown.”</p> <p>ii. Thus, the events of 1857 demonstrated that the people and politics of India were not basically communal or sectarian before 1858.</p>
7. Nature of the Revolt-	<p><u>Sir John Seeley</u>. It was a mere ‘Sepoy Mutiny’ to some British historians—“a wholly unpatriotic and selfish Sepoy Mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support”, <u>V.D. Savarkar</u> in his book, The Indian War of Independence, 1857. A “planned war of national independence”, he called the revolt <u>the first war of Indian independence</u>. <u>Dr S.N. Sen</u> in his Eighteen Fifty- Seven considers the revolt as having begun as a fight for religion but ending as a war of independence. <u>Dr R.C. Majumdar</u>, however, considers it as neither the first, nor national, nor a war of independence as large parts of the country remained unaffected. According to some Marxist historians, the 1857 revolt was “the struggle of the soldier-peasant democratic combine against foreign as well as feudal bondage”. <u>R.P. Dutt</u> also saw the significance of the Revolt of the peasantry against foreign domination It had seeds of nationalism and anti-imperialism but the concept of common nationality and nationhood was not inherent to the revolt of 1857. <u>Jawaharlal Nehru</u> in <u>his Discovery of India</u> considered the Revolt of 1857 as essentially a feudal uprising though there were some nationalistic elements in it. <u>M.N. Roy</u> felt the Revolt was a last ditch stand of feudalism against commercial capitalism. <u>S.B. Chaudhuri</u> observes, the revolt was “the first combined attempt of many classes of people to challenge a foreign power. This is a real, if remote, approach to the freedom movement of India of a later age”. <u>Dr K. Datta</u> considers the revolt of 1857 to have been “in the main a military outbreak, which was taken advantage of by certain discontented princes and landlords, whose interests had been affected by the new political order”. It was “never all-Indian in character, but was localised, restricted and poorly organised”. Further, he says, the movement was marked by absence of cohesion and unity of purpose among the various sections of the rebels.</p>

8. Consequences	<p>i. The revolt of 1857 marks a turning point in the history of India. It led to wide range of changes in the system of administration and the policies of the British government.</p> <p>ii. The British Parliament, on August 2, 1858, passed an Act for the Good Government of India. The Act declared Queen Victoria as the sovereign of British India and provided for the appointment of a Secretary of State for India</p> <p>iii. It was announced by Lord Canning at a durbar at Allahabad in the 'Queen's Proclamation' issued on November 1, 1858.</p> <p>iv. The proclamation also promised equal and impartial protection under law to all Indians, besides equal opportunities in government services irrespective of race or creed. It was also promised that old Indian rights, customs and practices would be given due regard while framing and administering the law.</p> <p>v. The Army Amalgamation Scheme, 1861 moved the Company's European troops to the services of the Crown.</p> <p>viii. The complete structure of the Indian government was remodelled and based on the the philosophy of the 'Whiteman's burden'.</p>
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Chapter- 8: Socio-Religious Reform Movements: General Features

Factors Giving Rise to Need for Reform-	
1. Impact of British Rule-	It came at a time when India, in contrast to an enlightened Europe of the eighteenth century, presented the picture of a stagnant civilization and a static and decadent society .
2. Social Conditions Ripe for Reform-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious and Social Ills • Depressing Position of Women • The Caste Problem • Opposition to Western Culture
3. New Awareness among Enlightened Indians-	The impact of modern Western culture and consciousness of defeat by a foreign power gave birth to a new awakening. Factors such as growth of nationalist sentiments , emergence of new economic forces , spread of education , impact of modern Western ideas and culture and increased awareness of the world strengthened the resolve to reform .
4. Social and Ideological Bases of Reform	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Middle Class Base • The Intellectual Criteria- • Raja Rammohan Roy firmly believed in the principle of causality linking the whole phenomenal universe and demonstrability as the sole criterion of truth. • Akshay Kumar Dutt, while declaring that "rationalism is our only preceptor", held that all natural and social phenomena could be analysed and understood by purely mechanical processes. • According to Swami Vivekananda, the same method of investigation which applies to sciences should be the basis on which religion must justify itself. • The evolution of an alternative cultural-ideological system and the regeneration of traditional institutions were two concerns of these movements. • to reconstruct traditional knowledge, the use and development of vernacular languages, creation of an alternative system of education, defence of religion, efforts to regenerate Indian art and literature, the emphasis on Indian dress and food, attempts to revitalise the Indian systems of medicine and to research the pre- colonial technology for its potential. • The reform movements could broadly be classified into two categories—the reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Aligarh Movement, revivalist movements like Arya Samaj and the Deoband movement. • The only difference between one reform movement and the other lay in the degree to which it relied on tradition or on reason and conscience.

5. Direction of Social Reform-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The humanistic ideals of social equality and the equal worth of all individuals which inspired the newly educated middle class to drive the social reforms.. The social reform movements were linked to the religious reforms primarily because nearly all social ills like untouchability and gender-based inequity derived legitimacy from religion in one way or the other. <p>Organizations such as the Social Conference, Servants of India Society and the Christian missionaries were instrumental in social reform along with many enlightened individuals like Jyotiba Phule, Gopalhari Deshmukh, K.T. Telang, B.M. Malabari, D.K. Karve, Sri Narayana Guru, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and B.R.Ambedkar.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fight for Betterment of Position of Women <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ One of the main agendas was the <u>improvement in the status of women</u> and radical change in the domestic sphere was advocated where the initial stages of socialization take place.
Steps taken to Ameliorate Women's Position	
Abolition of Sati-	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Raja Rammohan Roy launched a frontal attack on the practice and the government declared the practice of sati illegal and punishable by criminal courts as culpable homicide. The regulation of 1829 (of the Bengal Code) was applicable in the first instance to Bengal Presidency.
Preventing Female Infanticide-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The practice of murdering female infants immediately after their birth was a common practice among upper class Bengalis and Rajputs considering females to be an economic burden. The Bengal regulations of 1795 and 1804 declared infanticide illegal and equivalent to murder. An Act passed in 1870 made it compulsory for parents to register the birth of all babies.
Controlling Child Marriage	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The Native Marriage Act (or Civil Marriage Act), 1872 prohibited child marriage. A Parsi reformer, B. M. Malabari, were rewarded by the enactment of the Age of Consent Act (1891) which banned the marriage of girls below the age of 12. The Sarda Act (1930) further <u>pushed up the marriage age to 18 and 14 for boys and girls, respectively</u>. In free India, the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1978 raised the age of marriage from 15 to 18 years and 18 to 21 for girls and boys respectively.
Education of Women	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The Christian missionaries were the first to establish the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819. J.E.D. Bethune dedicated and founded Bethune college for girls education.. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was associated with <u>no less than 35 girls' schools in Bengal</u> and is considered one of the pioneers of women's education. Charles Wood's Dispatch on Education (1854) laid emphasis on the need for female education. In 1914, the Women's Medical Service did a lot of work in training nurses and mid-wives. Prof. D.K. Karve founded The Indian Women's University in 1916 was one of the outstanding institutions imparting education to women. In the same year Lady Hardings Medical College was opened in Delhi. Sarojini Naidu went on to become the first Indian women president of the Indian National Congress (1925) and later the governor of the United Provinces (1947-49).

Women's Organisations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sarla Devi Chaudhurani convened the first meeting of the Bharat Stree Mahamandal in Allahabad in 1910. Considered as the <u>first major Indian women's organisation set up by a woman</u>, its aims included <u>promotion of education for women</u>, <u>abolition of the purdah system</u> and <u>improvement in the socio- economic and political status of woman all over India</u>. 2. Ramabai Ranade founded the Ladies Social Conference (Bharat Mahila Parishad), under the National Social Conference, in Bombay in 1904.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Pandita Ramabai Saraswati founded the Arya Mahila Samaj and pleaded for improvement in the <u>educational syllabus of Indian women</u> before the English Education Commission which was referred to Queen Victoria. This resulted in medical education for women in Lady Duffer College. Later Ramabai Ranade established a branch of Arya Mahila Samaj in Bombay. 4. National Council of Women in India, a national branch of the International Council of Women, was formed in 1925. Mehribai Tata played a vital role in its formation and advancement.. 5. The All India Women's Conference (AIWC), founded by Margaret Cousins in 1927, was perhaps the first women's organisation with an <u>egalitarian approach</u>. Its objectives were to <u>work for a society based on principles of social justice, integrity, equal rights and opportunities</u>; and to <u>secure for every human being, the essentials of life, not determined by accident of birth or sex but by planned social distribution</u>. 6. Sarda Act (1929), Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (1937), Factory Act (1947), Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act (1954), Special Marriage Act (1954), Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (1956), Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (1956), the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women Act (1958), Maternity Benefits Act (1961), Dowry Prohibition Act (1961) and Equal Remuneration Act (1958, 1976).
Factors that Helped to Mitigate Caste-based Discrimination	<p>The worst-hit by the discriminatory institution of caste were the 'untouchables' or the scheduled castes/Dalits. British rule, perhaps without intention, created certain conditions that undermined caste consciousness to an extent.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The social reform movements also strove to undermine caste-based exploitation. 2. The national movement took inspiration from the <u>principles of liberty and equality</u> against the forces which tended to divide the society. 3. M.K. Gandhi, in 1932, founded the All India Hari jan Sangh. 4. With increasing opportunities of education and general awakening, <u>there were realization among the lower castes themselves</u>. 5. The struggle of the depressed classes led to the provision of special representation for these classes in the Government of India Act, 1935. 6. Sri Narayana Guru in Kerala coined the slogan <u>"one religion, one caste, one God for mankind"</u>. His disciple Sahadaran Ayyapan changed into <u>"no religion, no caste, no God for man kind"</u>. 7. Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar established the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha in 1924 to highlight the difficulties and grievances of the dalits before the government. Its motto was: 'Educate, Agitate and Organise'. He also led the Mahad Satyagraha in March 1927 to <u>challenge the regressive customs of the caste Hindus</u>. 8. The Constitution of free India has made equality and non-discrimination on basis of caste imperative.

Chapter-9: A General Survey of Socio- Cultural Reform Movements

1. Socio-Cultural Reform Movements and their Leaders-

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| I. Raja | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), who is known as the <u>father of Indian</u> |
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<p>Rammohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj</p>	<p>Renaissance and the maker of Modern India, He wrote <u>Gift to Monotheists</u> (1809) and translated into Bengali the Vedas and the five Upanishads to prove his conviction that <u>ancient Hindu texts support monotheism</u>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1814, he set up the <u>Atmiya Sabha</u> (or Society of Friends) in Calcutta. He declared that <u>Vedanta is based on reason</u> and that, if reason demanded it, even a departure from the scriptures is justified. • In his <u>Precepts of Jesus</u> (1820), he tried to separate the moral and philosophical message of the New Testament. Raja Rammohan Roy founded the <u>Brahmo Sabha in August 1828; it was later renamed Brahmo Samaj</u>. • The Samaj was committed to “the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe” the Samaj opposed to idolatry and meaningless rituals. • The long-term agenda of the Brahmo Samaj was to <u>purify Hinduism and to preach monotheism</u> which was based on the <u>twin pillars of reason and the Vedas and Upanishads</u>. • Roy’s progressive ideas were opposed by the orthodox elements like <u>Raja Radhakant Deb</u> who organized the <u>Dharma Sabha</u> to counter Brahmo Samaj propaganda. • Roy’s death in 1833 was a setback for the <u>Samaj’s mission</u>. The features of Brahmo Samaj may be summed thus— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -It denounced polytheism and idol worship; -It <u>discarded faith in divine avatars (incarnations)</u>; -It denied that any scripture could enjoy the status of ultimate authority transcending human reason and conscience; -It took <u>no definite stand on the doctrine of karma and transmigration of soul</u> and left it to individual Brahmos to believe either way; -It criticised the caste system.
<p>Raja Rammohan Roy’s Efforts at Social Reform-</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rammohan was a determined crusader against the inhuman practice of sati. He started his <u>anti-sati struggle in 1818</u>. His efforts were rewarded by the Government Regulation in 1829 which declared the practice of sati a crime. • Roy attacked polygamy and the degraded state of widows and <u>demanding the right of inheritance and property for women</u>. • He supported <u>David Hare’s</u> efforts to found the <u>Hindu College in 1817</u>, while Roy’s English school taught mechanics and Voltaire’s philosophy. In 1825, he established a <u>Vedanta college</u> where courses in both Indian learning and Western social and physical sciences were offered. • Roy condemned <u>oppressive practices of Bengali zamindars</u> and demanded <u>fixation of maximum rents</u>. He also demanded <u>abolition of taxes on taxfree lands</u>. • Roy had David Hare, Alexander Duff, Debendranath Tagore, P.K. Tagore, Chandrashekhar Deb and Tarachand Chakraborty as his associates.
<p>Debendranath Tagore and Brahmo Samaj-</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Maharishi Debendranath Tagore</u> (1817-1905), father of Rabindranath Tagore joined the Samaj in 1842. • Tagore headed the <u>Tattvabodhini Sabha (founded in 1839)</u> which, along with its organ <u>Tattvabodhini Patrika in Bengali</u>, was devoted to the systematic study of India’s past with a rational outlook. Tagore worked on two fronts: within Hinduism • The <u>Brahmo Samaj</u> was a reformist movement; outside, it <u>opposed the Christian missionaries for their criticism of Hinduism and their attempts at conversion</u>.
<p>Keshab Chandra Sen and the Brahmo Samaj</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Keshab Chandra Sen</u> (1838-1884) was made the <u>acharya by Debendranath Tagore</u> soon after he joined the Samaj in 1858. • Keshab was instrumental in popularizing the movement, and <u>branches of the Samaj were opened outside Bengal</u>. • Keshab Chandra Sen was <u>dismissed from the office of acharya in 1865</u>. He along with his followers founded the <u>Brahmo Samaj of India in 1866</u>, while <u>Debendranath Tagore’s Samaj</u> came to be known as the <u>Adi Brahmo Samaj</u>.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> After 1878, the <u>disgusted followers of Keshab</u> set up a new organisation, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was started by <u>Ananda Mohan Bose, Shibchandra Deb and Umesh Chandra Datta</u>. In Punjab, the Dayal Singh Trust sought to implant Brahmo ideas by the opening of Dayal Singh College at Lahore in 1910.
Significance of the Brahmo Samaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It condemned the prevailing Hindu prejudice against going abroad. It worked for a respectable status for women in society, condemned <i>sati</i>, worked for abolition of purdah system, discouraged child marriage and polygamy, crusaded for widow remarriage and for provisions of educational facilities. It also attacked casteism and untouchability though in these matters it attained only limited success.
II Prarthana Samaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1867, Keshab Chandra Sen helped Atmaram Pandurang found the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay. A precursor of the Prarthana Samaj was the Paramahansa Sabha, something like a secret society to spread liberal ideas and encourage the breakdown of caste and communal barriers. Mahadeo Govind Ranade (1842-1901), joined the samaj in 1870, Other leaders of the samaj were R.G. Bhandarkar (1837- 1925) and N.G. Chandavarkar (1855-1923). The Prarthana Sabha was very attached to the bhakti cult of Maharashtra. There was a <u>four-point social agenda</u> also: (i) disapproval of caste system, (ii) women's education, (iii) widow remarriage, and (iv) raising the age of marriage for both males and females. Dhondo Keshav Karve and Vishnu Shastri were champions of social reform with Ranade.
III Young Bengal Movement and Henry Vivian Derozio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Young Bengal Movement' - late 1820s- Henry Vivian Derozio, who taught at the Hindu College from 1826 to 1831, was the leader of this progressive trend. Despite their limitations, the Derozians carried forward Rammohan Roy's tradition of public education on social, economic and political questions. For instance, <u>they demanded induction of Indians in higher grades of services, protection of ryots from oppressive zamindars, better treatment to Indian labour abroad in British colonies, revision of the Company's charter, freedom of press and trial by jury</u>. Surendranath Banerjea was to describe the Derozians as <u>"the pioneers of the modern civilisation of Bengal"</u>.
IV. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I.C.Vidyasagar's ideas were a happy blend of Indian and Western thought. He believed in high moral values, was a deep humanist and was generous to the poor. Vidyasagar started a movement in support of widow remarriage which resulted in legalization of widow remarriage. He was also a crusader against child marriage and polygamy. He did much for the cause of women's education. As government inspector of schools, he helped organize 35 girls' schools many of which he ran at his own expense.
V. Balshastri Jambhekar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Balshastri Jambhekar was a pioneer of social reform through journalism in Bombay; he attacked brahminical orthodoxy and tried to reform popular Hinduism. He started the newspaper Darpan in 1832. Known as the father of Marathi journalism. In 1840, he started Digdarshan which published articles on scientific subjects as well as history. Jambhekar founded the Bombay Native General Library and started the Native Improvement Society of which an offshoot was the Students Literary and Scientific Library.
Paramahansa Mandali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It was founded in 1849 in Maharashtra, mainly by Dadoba Pandurang, Mehtaji Durgaram began as a secret society that worked to reform Hindu religion and society in general. The ideology of the society was closely linked to that of the Manav Dharma Sabha.
Satyashodhak Samaj and Jyotiba or Jyotirao Phule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jyotiba Phule (1827-1890), organized a powerful movement against <u>upper caste domination and brahminical supremacy</u>. He founded the Satyashodhak Samaj (Truth Seekers' Society) in 1873. The main aims of the movement were (i) social service, and (ii) spread of

	<p>education among women and lower caste people.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Phule's works, Sarvajanik Satyadharma and Gulamgiri, became sources of inspiration for the common masses. Phule used the symbol of Rajah Bali as opposed to the brahmins' symbol of Rama. Phule was awarded the title 'Mahatma' for his social reform work.
Gopalhari Deshmukh 'Lokahitawadi'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gopalhari Deshmukh was a social reformer and rationalist from Maharashtra. He wrote for a weekly Prabhakar under the pet name of Lokahitawadi on social reform issues. He said, "If religion does not sanction social reform, then change religion."
Gopal Ganesh Agarkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gopal Ganesh Agarkar was an educationist and social reformer from Maharashtra. He criticized the blind dependence on tradition and false glorification of the past. He became first editor of Kesari, the journal started by Lokmanya Tilak. Later, he started his own periodical, Sudharak, which spoke against untouchability and the caste system.
The Servants of India Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), founded the Servants of India Society in 1905 with the help of M.G. Ranade. The aim of the society was to train national missionaries for the service of India; to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people; and to prepare a cadre of selfless workers who were to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit. In 1911, the Hitavada started getting published to project the views of the society. Srinivasa Shastri took over as president after Gokhale's death.
Social Service League	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Narayan Malhar Joshi founded the Social Service League in Bombay with an aim to secure for the masses better and reasonable conditions of life and work. Joshi also founded the All India Trade Union Congress (1920).
The Ramakrishna Movement and Swami Vivekananda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two objectives of the Ramakrishna movement were—(i) to bring into existence a band of monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality, from among whom teachers and workers would be sent out to spread the universal message of Vedanta, and (ii) in conjunction with lay disciples to carry on preaching, philanthropic and charitable works, looking upon all men, women and children, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, as veritable manifestations of the Divine. Paramahansa himself laid the foundations of the Ramakrishna Math as a nucleus to fulfil the first objective. The second objective was taken up by Swami Vivekananda after Ramakrishna's death when he founded the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897. The headquarters of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission are at Belur near Calcutta.
Dayananda Saraswati and Arya Samaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dayananda Saraswati or Mulshankar founded Arya Samaj. The first Arya Samaj unit was formally set up by him at Bombay in 1875 and later the headquarters of the Samaj were established at Lahore. Dayananda's views were published in his famous work, Satyarth Prakash (The True Exposition). He took <u>inspiration from the Vedas</u> and <u>considered them to be 'India's Rock of Ages', the infallible and the true original seed of Hinduism</u>. He gave the slogan "Back to the Vedas". Swami Dayananda once lamented the <u>Hindu race</u> as "the children of children". The centrality for this movement was provided by the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.) schools, established first at Lahore in 1886, which sought to emphasize on Western education. Swami Shraddhanand started the Gurukul at Hardwar in 1902 to impart education in the traditional framework. The ten guiding principles of the Arya Samaj are— (i) God is the primary source of all true knowledge; (ii) God, as all-truth, all-knowledge, almighty, immortal, creator of Universe, is alone worthy of worship; (iii) the Vedas are the books of true knowledge;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (iv) an Arya should always be ready to accept truth and abandon untruth; • (v) dharma, that is, due consideration of right and wrong, should be the guiding principle of all actions; • (vi) the principal aim of the Samaj is to promote world's well-being in the material, spiritual and social sense; • (vii) everybody should be treated with love and justice; • (viii) ignorance is to be dispelled and knowledge increased; • (ix) one's own progress should depend on uplift of all others; • (x) social well-being of mankind is to be placed above an individual's well-being.
Seva Sadan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behramji M. Malabari founded the Seva Sadan in 1908 along with a friend, Diwan Dayaram Gidumal. • It was his efforts that led to the Age of Consent Act regulating the age of consent for females,
Dev Samaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shiv Narayan Agnihotri founded in 1887 at Lahore by Its teachings were compiled in a book, Deva Shashtra. Agnihotri spoke against child marriage.
Dharma Sabha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radhakant Deb founded this Sabha in 1830. An orthodox society which stood for the preservation of the status quo.
Bharat Dharma Mahamandala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other organisations created to defend orthodox Hinduism were the Sanatana Dharma Sabha (1895), the Dharma Maha Parishad in South India, and Dharma Mahamandali in Bengal. These organisations combined in 1902 to form the single organisation of Bharat Dharma Mahamandala, with headquarters at Varanasi. • This organization sought to introduce proper management of Hindu religious institutions, open Hindu educational institutions, etc. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was a prominent figure in this movement.
Radhaswami Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shiv Dayal Saheb, also known as Tulsi Ram founded this movement in 1861. The Radhaswamis believe in <u>one supreme being, supremacy of the guru, a company of pious people (satsang), and a simple social life</u>.
Sree Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The SNDP movement was an example of a regional movement born out of conflict between the depressed classes and upper castes. • It was started by Sree Narayana Guru Swamy among the Ezhavas of Kerala. • Narayana Guru, <u>took a stone from the Neyyar river and installed it as a Sivalinga at Aruvippuram on Sivaratri in 1888 called Aruvippuram movement</u>. • On the wall of the Aruvippuram temple he got inscribed the words, <u>"Devoid of dividing walls of caste or race, or hatred of rival faith, we all live here in brotherhood."</u> • The SNDP Yogam took up several issues for the Ezhavas, such as • (a) right of admission to public schools, (b) recruitment to government services, (c) access to roads and entry to temples, and (d) political representation.
Vokkaliga Sangha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Vokkaliga Sangha in Mysore launched an anti-brahmin movement in 1905
Justice Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This movement y was started by C.N. Mudaliar, T.M. Nair and P. Tyagaraja in Madras Presidency in 1917.
Self-Respect Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This movement was started by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, a Balija Naidu, in the mid-1920s
Temple Entry Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vaikom, became a centre of agitation for temple entry. In 1924, the Vaikom Satyagraha led by K.P. Kesava, was launched in Kerala demanding entry of untouchables in Hindu Temples. • In 1931 when the Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended, temple entry movement was organised in Kerala. • On November 12, 1936, the Maharaja of Travancore issued proclamation <u>throwing open all government-controlled temples to all Hindus</u>. • A similar step was taken by the C. Rajagopalachari administration in Madras in 1938.
Titu Mir's Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mir Nithar Ali, popularly known as Titu Mir, was a disciple of Sayyid Ahmed Barelvi, the founder of the Wahabi Movement.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Titu Mir adopted Wahabism and advocated the Sharia.
Faraizi Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was founded by Haji Shariatullah in 1818. Shariatullah through the movement tried to establish a parallel government to the British. • After the death of Shariatullah, his son Muhsinuddin Ahmad Dudu Miyan became the leader of the movement. • Under the leadership of Dudu Miyan, the movement became mostly agrarian in character. It was anti-landlord and anti-planter in character. In 1938, Dudu Miyan asked his followers to <u>not pay rent and also disobey the dictates of Indigo planters</u>. • The movement survived merely as a religious movement without political overtones after the death of Dudu Mian in 1862.
Ahmadiyya Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ahmadiyya forms a sect of Islam which originated from India. It was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1889. • The Ahmadiyya community is the only Islamic sect to believe that the Messiah had come in the person of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to end religious wars
Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A section of Muslims led by Syed Ahmed Khan stimulate a process of growth among Indian Muslims through <u>better education and employment opportunities</u>. • After retirement in 1876, he became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1878. • He earned a knighthood for his loyalty towards British in 1888. In 1875, He started the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (later, the Aligarh Muslim University) at Aligarh. • He believed in the fundamental underlying unity of religions or 'practical morality'. Sir Syed's progressive social ideas were propagated through his magazine Tahdhib-ul-Akhlaq (Improvement of Manners and Morals). • Its objective was to spread (i) modern education among Indian Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam; (ii) social reforms among Muslims relating to purdah, polygamy, widow remarriage, women's education, slavery, divorce, etc.
The Deoband School (Darul Uloom)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Deoband Movement belonged to the orthodox section among the Muslim ulema • The Deoband Movement began in 1866 at the Darul Uloom (or Islamic academic centre), Deoband, in Saharanpur district (United Provinces) by Mohammad Qasim Nanotavi and Rashid Ahmed Gangohi to train religious leaders for the Muslim community. • The objective of the Deoband Movement was moral and religious regeneration of the Muslim community.
Parsi Reform Movements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha (Religious Reform Association) was founded in 1851 by a group of English educated Parsis for the <u>"regeneration of the social conditions of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity"</u>. • The movement had Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.R. Cama and S.S. Bengalee as its leaders. Narouji Started a newspaper Rast Goftar (Truth-Teller) to spread this message.
Sikh Reform Movements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Singh Sabha Movement was founded at Amritsar in 1873 with a two-fold objective—(i) to make available modern <u>western education to the Sikhs</u>, and (ii) to <u>counter the activities of Christian missionaries as well as the Brahmo Samajists, Arya Samajists and Muslim maulvis</u> • The Akali movement (also known as Gurudwara Reform Movement) was an offshoot of the Singh Sabha Movement. It aimed at <u>liberating the Sikh gurudwaras from the controlof corrupt Udasi mahants</u> • Akalis launched a non-violent non-cooperation satyagraha in 1921 which faced a repression by government but had to bow before popular demands. It passed the Sikh Gurudwaras Act in 1922 which gave the control of gurudwaras to the Sikh masses to be administered through Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) as the apex body..

The Theosophical Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Westerners like Madame H.P. Blavatsky and Colonel M.S. Olcott, who were inspired by Indian thought and culture, founded the Theosophical Society in New York City, United States in 1875. In 1882, they shifted their headquarters to Adyar, on the outskirts of Madras in India. They believed that a special <u>relationship could be established between a person's soul and God</u> Upon the death of Olcott in 1907, Annie Besant became the president of the movement after which it gained popularity in India. . Annie Besant came to India in 1893. She laid the foundation of the Central Hindu College in Benaras in 1898. It later became <u>Benaras Hindu University in 1916</u>.
2. Significance of Reform Movements	
Positive Aspects-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Liberation of the individual from the conformity born out of fear and from uncritical submission to exploitation by the priests and other classes. The simplification of rituals made worship a more personal experience It enabled translation of religious texts into vernacular languages, It emphasized on an individual's right to interpret the scriptures It emphasized the human intellect's capacity to think, reasoning and scientific temper. It enabled their followers to meet the official taunt that their religions and society were decadent and inferior. Served the purpose of reducing the sense of humiliation which the conquest by a foreign power had produced Promoting a modern, worldly, secular and rational outlook was a major contribution of these reform movements. A basic change in the notions of 'pollution and purity'.
Negative Aspects-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Had a narrow social base, namely the educated and urban middle classes, while the needs of the vast masses of peasantry and the urban poor were ignored. The tendency of reformers to appeal to the greatness of the past and to rely on scriptural authority encouraged mysticism. Insufficient emphasis on other aspects of culture—art, architecture, literature, music, science and technology.

Chapter-10: Beginning of Modern Nationalism in India

Factors in the Growth of Modern Nationalism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> French Revolution resulted in worldwide upsurge of the concepts of nationalism and right of self-determination. Indian Renaissance. Modern nationalism acted as an Offshoot of modernization initiated by the British in India. Strong reaction to British imperialist policies in India.
1. Understanding of Contradictions in Indian and Colonial Interests	<p>Colonial rule was the major cause of India's economic backwardness and that the interests of the Indians involved the interests of all sections and classes. The nationalist movement arose to take up the challenge of these contradictions</p>
2. Political, Administrative and Economic Unification of the Country	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The British rule in the Indian subcontinent extended from the Himalayas in the north to the Cape Comorin in the south and from Assam in the east to Khyber Pass in the west. While Indian provinces were under 'direct' British rule, the princely states were under 'indirect' British rule. The necessities of administrative convenience, considerations of military

	<p>defence, the urge for economic penetration and commercial exploitation (all in British interests) were the driving forces behind the planned development of modern means of transport and communication</p> <p>4. This process of unification had a two-fold effect:</p> <p>(a).The economic fate of the people of different regions got linked together; for</p> <p>(b) Modern means of transport and communication brought people, especially the leaders, from different regions together.</p> <p>This was important for the exchange of political ideas and for mobilization and organization of public opinion on political and economic issues.</p>
Western Thought and Education-	<p>The introduction of a modern system of education provided opportunities for assimilation of modern Western ideas.</p> <p>The liberal and radical thought and philosophy of European thinkers like, J. S. Mill, Rousseau, Paine, and Voltaire helped many Indians imbibe modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist ideas.</p>
Role of Press and Literature	<p>In 1877, there were about 169 newspapers published in vernacular languages and their circulation reached 1,00,000.</p> <p>The press while criticizing official policies and urged the people to unite against the colonial and despotic rule.</p>
Rediscovery of India's Past	<p>The historical researches by European scholars, such as <u>Max Mueller, Monier Williams, Roth and Sassoon</u>, and by Indian scholars such as <u>R.G. Bhandarkar, R.L. Mitra and later Swami Vivekananda</u>, created an entirely new picture of India's past.</p>
Progressive Character of Socio-religious Reform Movements	<p>These reform movements <u>sought to remove social evils which divided the Indian society</u>.</p>
Reactionary Policies and Racial Arrogance of Rulers	<p>Lyttton brought reactionary policies like Reduction of maximum age limit for the I.C.S. examination from 21 years to 19 years in 1876, the grand Delhi Durbar of 1877 when the country was in the severe grip of famine, the Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878 and the Arms Act in 1878 provoked a storm of opposition in the country.Lord Ripon repealed the VPA later.</p>
Political Associations Before the Indian National Congress	<p>Political Associations in Bengal</p> <p>-The Bangabhasha Prakashika Sabha was formed in 1836 by associates of Raja Rammohan Roy.</p> <p>-The Zamindari Association, more popularly known as the 'Landholders' Society', was founded to safeguard the interests of the landlords.</p> <p>-The Bengal British India Society was founded in 1843 In 1851, both the Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society merged into the British Indian Association.</p> <p>-The East India Association was organised by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London</p> <p>-The Indian League was started in 1875 by Sisir Kumar Ghosh</p> <p>-The Indian Association of Calcutta (also known as the Indian National Association) superseded the Indian League and was founded in 1876 by younger nationalists of Bengal led by Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose. They protested against the reduction of age limit in 1877 for candidates of the Indian Civil Service examination.It later merged with the Indian National Congress in 1886.</p> <p>-Political Associations in Bombay</p> <p>-The Poona Sarvajanic Sabha was founded in 1867 by Mahadeo Govind Ranade</p> <p>-The Bombay Presidency Association was started by Badraddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta and K.T. Telang in 1885.</p> <p>-Political Associations in Madras</p> <p>-The Madras Mahajan Sabha was founded in 1884 by M. Viraraghavachari, B. Subramaniya Aiyer and P. Anandacharlu.</p> <p>Through long petitions to the British Parliament most of them demanded</p>

	administrative reforms, association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education.
Pre-Congress Campaigns-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To impose import duty on cotton (1875) To Indianize government service (1878-79) Against Lytton's Afghan adventure To oppose Arms Act (1878) Protested against Vernacular Press Act (1878) To oppose plantation labour and against Inland Emigration Act In support of Ilbert Bill For an All India Fund for Political Agitation For right to join volunteer corps Campaigned in Britain to vote for pro-India party Stood against reduction in maximum age for appearing in Indian Civil Service

Chapter-11: Indian National Congress: Foundation and the Moderate Phase

1. Foundation of Indian National Congress- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The final shape to the establishment of an all-India organization was given by A.O. Hume, who organized the first session of the Indian National Congress in Bombay in December 1885. Two sessions of the Indian National Conference had been held in 1883 and 1885; Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose were the main architects of the Indian National Conference. The first session of the Indian National Congress was attended by 72 delegates and presided over by Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee. Kadambini Ganguly, also the first woman graduate of Calcutta University, addressed the Congress session. 	
Was It a Safety Valve?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hume formed the Congress with the idea that it would prove to be a 'safety valve' for releasing the growing discontent of the Indians. R.P. Dutt held that that the Indian National Congress was born out of a conspiracy to abort a popular uprising in India and the bourgeois leaders were a party to it. Bipan Chandra says, the early Congress leaders used Hume as a 'lightning conductor' to bring together the nationalistic forces even if under the guise of a 'safety valve'. Even the Marxist historian's 'conspiracy theory' was an offspring of the 'safety valve' notion.
Aims and Objectives of the Congress-	<p>Initially, the objectives of INC were to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> found a democratic, nationalist movement promote friendly relations among nationalist political workers from different parts of the country; politicize and <u>politically educate people</u> develop and propagate an <u>anti-colonial nationalist ideology</u>; formulate and <u>present popular demands before the government</u> with a view to unifying the people over a common economic and political programme; Develop and consolidate a feeling of national unity among people irrespective of religion, caste or province. Carefully promote and nurture Indian nationhood.
2. Era of Modernates (1885-1905)	
Important Leaders-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha, W.C. Bonnerjee, S.N. Banerjea

Moderate Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They worked on a two-pronged methodology (a) To create a strong public opinion to arouse consciousness and national spirit and then educate and unite people on common political questions (b) To persuade the British Government and British public opinion to introduce reforms in India on the lines laid out by the nationalists. A <u>British committee of the Indian National Congress was established in London in 1899</u> which had India as its organ.
3. Contributions of Moderate Nationalists	
Economic Critique of British Imperialism	Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Dinshaw Wacha and others, carefully analyzed the political economy of British rule in India, and introduced the “drain theory” to explain British exploitation of India . They opposed the transformation of a basically self-sufficient Indian economy into a colonial economy
Constitutional Reforms and Propaganda in Legislature-	From 1885 to 1892, the nationalist demanded constitutional reforms which were centred around: Expansion of councils— greater participation of Indians in councils Reform of councils— more powers to councils, especially greater control over finances. They gave the slogan— “No taxation without representation” .
Campaign for General Administrative Reforms-	The Moderates campaigned for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Separation of judicial from executive functions. Criticized an oppressive and tyrannical bureaucracy and an expensive and time-consuming judicial system. Indianization of government service Criticized an aggressive foreign policy which resulted in annexation of Burma, attack on Afghanistan and suppression of tribals in the North-West, all costing heavily for the Indian treasury. Call for increase in expenditure on welfare, irrigation works and improvement of agriculture, agricultural banks for cultivators, etc. Demand for better treatment for Indian labour abroad in other British colonies, where they faced oppression and racial discrimination.
An Evaluation of the Early Nationalists- <ol style="list-style-type: none"> They were able to create a wide <u>national awakening</u> of all Indians having common interests and the need to rally around a common programme against a common enemy, and above all, the feeling of belonging to one nation. They <u>trained people in political work</u> and popularized modern ideas. They exposed the <u>exploitative character of colonial rule</u>, thus undermined its moral foundations. Their political work was <u>based on hard realities</u>, and not on shallow sentiments, religion, etc. They were able to establish the basic political truth that India should be ruled in the interest of Indians. They represented the <u>most progressive forces</u> of the time. They created a <u>solid base for a more vigorous, militant, mass-based national movement in the years that followed.</u> They failed to widen their <u>democratic base</u> and the scope of their demands. 	
Role of Masses-	The moderate phase of the national movement had a narrow social base and the masses played a passive role . This was because the moderates lacked political faith in the masses. They believed that the masses were generally ignorant and had conservative ideas and thoughts.
Attitude of the Government	The government resorted to <u>open condemnation of the Congress</u> , calling the nationalists “seditious brahmins”, “disloyal babus”, etc. Dufferin called the Congress “a factory of sedition” . Later, the government adopted a ‘divide and rule’ policy towards the Congress.

Chapter-12: Era of Militant Nationalism-(1905-1909)

1. Growth of Militant Nationalism-

Why Militant Nationalism Grew-	
1. Recognition of the True Nature of British Rule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1892— The Indian Councils Act failed to satisfy the moderates. 1897— The Natu brothers were <u>deported without trial</u> and Tilak and others, imprisoned on charges of sedition. 1898— Repressive laws under IPC Section 124 A were further amplified with new provisions under IPC Section 156 A 1899— Number of Indian members in <u>Calcutta Corporation</u> were reduced. 1904— Official Secrets Act curbed freedom of press. 1904— <u>Indian Universities Act</u> ensured greater government control over universities
2. International Influences-	The defeat of the Italian army by Ethiopians (1896), British were defeated at the Boer wars (1899- 1902) and Japan's victory over Russia (1905) demolished myths of European superiority.
3. Dissatisfaction with Achievements of Moderates	They were strongly critical of the methods of peaceful and constitutional agitation, popularly known as the "Three 'P's"- prayer, petition and protest , and described these methods as ' political mendicancy '.
4. Reactionary Policies of Curzon-	Administrative measures adopted during curzon's rule like the Official Secrets Act, the Indian Universities Act, the Calcutta Corporation Act and, the partition of Bengal further fueled Indian minds.
5. Existence of a Militant School of Thought	<p>The basic tenets of this school of thought were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct political action required. They belief in capacity of the masses to challenge the authority. Hatred for foreign rule; Indians should work out their own salvation. Swaraj to be the goal of national movement; Role of Personal sacrifices in national struggle and that a true nationalist to be always ready for it.
2. The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement-	
Partition of Bengal to Divide People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The decision was made public in 1903. The idea was to have two provinces: Bengal comprising Western Bengal including Bihar and Orissa, and Eastern Bengal and Assam. Bengal retained Calcutta as its capital, while Dacca became the capital of Eastern Bengal.
Anti-Partition Campaign Under Moderates (1903-05)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The methods adopted were petitions to the <u>government, public meetings, memorandum, and propaganda through pamphlets and newspapers</u> such as Hitabadi, Sanjibani and Bengalee. Their objective was to <u>put pressure on the government through an educated public opinion in India and England to prevent the partition.</u> The government announced partition of Bengal in July 1905. On August 7, 1905, with the passage of the Boycott Resolution in a massive meeting held in the Calcutta Townhall, the formal proclamation of Swadeshi Movement was made. October 16, 1905, the day the partition formally came into force. It was observed as a day of mourning throughout Bengal. 'Amar Sonar Bangla', was composed by Rabindranath Tagore which later became the national anthem of present-day Bangladesh.
The Congress's Position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The INC session of 1905 presided by GK Gokhle resolved to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) condemn the partition of Bengal and the reactionary policies of Curzon, (ii) <u>support the anti-partition and Swadeshi Movement of Bengal.</u> The INC session of 1906 presided by Dada bhai Naraouji declared that the <u>goal of the Indian National Congress was "self-government or Swaraj.</u>
3. The Movement under Extremist Leadership-	
Reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Failure of Moderates to bring desired results. The divisive tactics of the governments of both the Bengals had angered the nationalists. The government had resorted to suppression.
The Extremist	Extremists gave a call for passive resistance in addition to swadeshi and boycott.

Programme-	"Political freedom is the life breath of a nation," declared Aurobindo.
New Forms of Struggle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>Boycott of Foreign Goods</u> 2. <u>Public Meetings and Processions</u> 3. Corps of Volunteers or 'Samitis'- Samitis such as the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Ashwini Kumar Dutta emerged as a very popular and powerful means of mass mobilisation. In Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva and some lawyers formed the Swadeshi Sangam which inspired the local masses. 4. Imaginative use of Traditional Popular Festivals and Melas 5. Emphasis given to Self-Reliance 6. Programme of Swadeshi or National Education- Bengal National College, inspired by <i>Tagore's Shantiniketan</i>, was set up with Aurobindo Ghosh as its principal. 7. Impact in the Cultural Sphere In Tamil Nadu, Subramania Bharati wrote Sudesh Geetham. In painting, Abanindranath Tagore broke the domination of Victorian naturalism over the Indian art scene and took inspiration from Ajanta, Mughal and Rajput paintings. Nandalal Bose, who left a major imprint on Indian art, was the first recipient of a scholarship offered by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, founded in 1907.
Extent of Mass Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student participation was visible in Bengal, Maharashtra, especially in Poona, and in many parts of the South. • Women play a significant role in the national movement. • The nature of the Swadeshi Movement, with leaders evoking Hindu festivals and goddesses for inspiration, ended up excluding the Muslims. • Between 1906 and 1908, strikes in the jute mills were very frequent, Subramania Siva and Chidambaram Pillai led strikes in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli in a foreign-owned cotton mill. In Rawalpindi (Punjab), the arsenal and railway workers went on strike
All India Aspect	Movements in various parts of the country were organized in support of Bengal's unity and the swadeshi and boycott agitation.
Annulment of Partition	The partition was annulled in 1911 which was done to sop the Muslims . The annulment came as a rude shock to the Muslim political elite. It was also decided to shift the capital to Delhi
4. Evaluation of the Swadeshi Movement	
The Movement Fizzles Out-	<p>There was severe government repression.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The movement failed to create an effective organization or a party structure. The techniques later came to be associated with Gandhian politics— noncooperation, passive resistance, filling of British jails, social reform and constructive work. The movement was rendered leaderless with most of the leaders either arrested or deported by 1908 and with <u>Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal</u> retiring from active politics. • Internal controversies among leaders, especially the Surat split (1907), did much harm to the movement. • The movement largely remained confined to the upper and middle classes and zamindars, and failed to reach the masses—especially the peasantry. • Non-cooperation and passive resistance remained mere ideas. • It is difficult to sustain a mass-based movement at a high pitch for too long.
Movement a Turning Point-	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Hitherto untouched sections like students, women, workers, some sections of urban and rural population participated. All the major trends of the national movement, from <u>conservative moderation to political extremism</u>, from <u>revolutionary activities to incipient socialism</u>, from <u>petitions and prayers to passive resistance and non-cooperation</u>, emerged during the Swadeshi Movement. b. The richness of the movement was not confined to the political sphere, but encompassed art, literature, science and industry also. c. People were aroused from slumber and now they learned to take bold political positions and participate in new forms of political work. d. The future struggle was to draw heavily from the experience gained
5. The Surat Split	

Run-up to Surat and Split takes place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1906 was presided by Narouji. Moderates wanted to restrict the Boycott Movement to Bengal and to a boycott of foreign cloth and liquor. Extremists wanted to take the movement to all parts of the country and include within its ambit all forms of association. In 1907 session, presided by Rash Behari Ghosh, Congress split into two.
Government Repression-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The Seditious Meetings Act, 1907; b) Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908; c) Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908; and d) The Indian Press Act, 1910. e) Tilak, the main Extremist leader, was tried in 1909 for sedition for what he had written in 1908 in his Kesari about a bomb thrown by Bengal revolutionaries in Muzaffarpur
7. The Government Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) To government, the Moderates still represented an anti-imperialist force consisting of basically patriotic and liberal intellectuals.. b) The policy was to be of 'rallying them' or the policy of 'carrot and stick'. c) It may be described as a three-pronged approach of repression conciliation-suppression.(R-C-S) d) First, the Extremists were to be repressed mildly, second, the Moderates were to be placated through some concessions. e) The Surat split suggested that the <u>policy of carrot and stick had brought rich dividends to the British India government.</u>
7. Morley-Minto Reforms—1909-	
The Reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Morley- Minto Reforms that translated into the Indian Councils Act of 1909. The <u>nonofficial membership of the councils in India. Indians were allowed to participate in the election of various legislative councils, though on the basis of class and community.</u> For the first time, separate electorates for Muslims for election to the central council was established. The number of <u>elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Legislative Councils</u> was increased. While non-elected majority remained the same. In the provincial councils, non-official majority was introduced. The elected members were to be indirectly elected. The local bodies were to elect an electoral college, which in turn would elect members of provincial legislatures, who in turn would elect members of the central legislature. Besides separate electorates for the Muslims, representation in excess of the strength of their population was accorded to the Muslims. Also, the income qualification for Muslim voters was kept lower than that for Hindus. Powers of legislatures—both at the centre and in provinces—were enlarged and the legislatures could now pass resolutions, ask questions and supplementaries, vote separate items in the budget though the budget as a whole could not be voted upon. One Indian was to be appointed to the viceroy's executive council (Satyendra Sinha was the first Indian to be appointed in 1909).

Chapter-13: First Phase of Revolutionary Activities (1907-1917)

1. Why the Surge of Revolutionary Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First phase began as a fallout to the swadeshi movement and acquired a more activist form which continued till 1917. Second phase started as fallout of the Non-Cooperation Movement.
2. The Revolutionary Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The methodology was based on individual heroic actions. Revolutionaries opted to follow in the footsteps of Russian nihilists or the Irish nationalists.
3. A Survey of Revolutionary Activities	
Bengal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First revolutionary groups were organized in 1902 in <u>Midnapore</u> under the leadership of Jnanendranath Basu and in <u>Calcutta</u> the Anushilan Samiti which was founded by Promotha Mitter, and including Jatindranath Banerjee, Barindra Kumar Ghosh among others.) In April 1906, <u>Anushilan Samiti leaders Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Bhupendranath</u>

	<p><u>Dutta</u> started a weekly <i>Yugantar</i> and conducted some abortive 'actions'.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> After severe police brutalities on participants of the Barisal Conference (April 1906), the <i>Yugantar</i> propagated that <u>Force must be stopped by force</u>. Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal had organized secret societies while some others like Hemachandra Kanungo went abroad for military and political training.. In December 1907, <u>attempts to derail the train</u> in which the lieutenant- governor, Sri Andrew Fraser were travelling. Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at a carriage in 1908 after which the whole Anushilan group was arrested including the Ghosh brothers, Aurobindo and Barindra. Both were tried in the Alipore conspiracy case. A public prosecutor was shot dead in Calcutta in February 1909 and in February 1910, a deputy superintendent of police met the same fate. Pulin Das of Dacca Anushilan Samit, in 1908, organized Barrah dacoity to raise funds for revolutionary activities. Jatin Mukherjee (Bagha Jatin) was shot in Balasore (Odisha) in September 1915. "<u>We shall die to awaken the nation</u>", was the call of Bagha Jatin. Sandhya and Yugantar in Bengal, and Kal in Maharashtra were journals and newspapers by revolutionaries to spread their radical ideologies.
Maharashtra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vasudev Balwant phadke organized Ramosi Peasant Force in Maharashtra Tilak propagated a spirit of militant nationalism, including use of violence, through <u>Ganapati and Shivaji festivals</u> and his journals Kesari and Maharatta. The Chapekar brothers, Damodar and Balkrishna—murdered the Plague Commissioner of Poona, Rand, and Lt. Ayerst in 1897. <u>In 1899, Savarkar</u> and his brother organized Mitra Mela, a secret society which merged with Abhinav Bharat in 1904. Soon Nasik, Poona and Bombay emerged as centres of <u>bomb manufacture</u>.
Punjab	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lala Lajpat Rai brought out Punjabee with its motto of self-help at any cost and Ajit Singh organized the extremist Anjuman-i-Mohisban-i-Watan in Lahore with a journal named, Bharat Mata.
Revolutionary Activities Abroad	<p>Shyamji Krishnavarma had started in London in 1905 an Indian Home Rule Society named 'India House' and a journal The Indian Sociologist. India House served as a centre for Indian students, a scholarship scheme to bring radical youth from India. Madanlal Dhingra from this circle <u>assassinated the India office bureaucrat Curzon-Wyllie</u> in 1909. Berlin Committee for Indian Independence was established in 1915 by Virendranath Chattopadhyay, Bhupendranath Dutta, Lala Hardayal and others .</p> <p>Indian revolutionaries in Europe sent missions to Baghdad, Persia, Turkey and Kabul to work among Indian troops and the Indian prisoners of war (POWs) and to incite anti-British feelings among the people of these countries.</p> <p>A mission under Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, Barkatullah and Obaidullah Sindhi went to Kabul to organise a 'provisional Indian government' there with the help of the crown prince, Amanullah. A Mutiny in Singapore was led by Jamadar Chisti Khan, Jamadar Abdul Gani and Subedar Daud Khan which was crushed through a battle.</p>
4. Decline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There was a temporary respite in revolutionary activity after the First World War because the release of prisoners held under the Defence of India Rules cooled down passions a bit; there was an atmosphere of conciliation after Montagu's August 1917 statement.

Chapter -14: First World War and Nationalist Response

In **First World War (1914-1919)**, Britain allied with France, Russia, USA, Italy and Japan against Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey.

Nationalist response to British participation in the First World War was three-fold:

- Moderates supported the empire in the war as a matter of duty;**
- Extremists, supported the war efforts in the mistaken belief that Britain would repay India's loyalty with gratitude in the form of self government**

<p>c) Revolutionaries thought to utilize the opportunity to wage a war on British rule and liberate the country.</p> <p>Revolutionary activity was carried out through the Ghadr Party in North America, Berlin Committee in Europe and Singapore.</p>	
1. Home Rule League Movement	
Factors Leading to the Movement	<p>a). It was felt that popular pressure was required to attain concessions from the government.</p> <p>b). Disillusionment with the Morley- Minto reforms.</p> <p>c). People were feeling the burden of wartime miseries caused by <u>high taxation and a rise in prices</u>, and were ready to participate in any aggressive movement of protest.</p> <p>d). International events exposed the myth of white superiority.</p> <p>e). Tilak was ready to assume leadership after his release in June 1914, and indicated that he wanted, like the Irish Home Rulers, <u>a reform of the administration and not an overthrow of the government</u>. He also admitted that the <u>acts of violence had only served to retard the pace of political progress in India</u>. He urged <u>all Indians to assist the British government in its hour of crisis</u>.</p> <p>f) Annie Besant, had decided to enlarge the sphere of her activities to include the building of a movement for home rule on the lines of the Irish Home Rule Leagues.</p>
The Leagues	<p>a). She campaigned through her newspapers, <u>New India and Commonweal</u>, and through public meetings and conferences. Annie Besant set up her league in September 1916 in Madras and covered the rest of India (including Bombay city). It had 200 branches</p> <p>b) Tilak set up his Home Rule League in April 1916 and it was restricted to Maharashtra (excluding Bombay city), Karnataka, Central Provinces and Berar.</p>
The Home Rule League Programme-	<p>a). League campaign aimed to convey to the common man the message of home rule as self- government.</p> <p>b). Home Rule agitation was later joined by <u>Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Chittaranjan Das, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Lala Lajpat Rai</u>.</p>
Government Attitude	<p>a). Tilak was barred from entering the Punjab and Delhi. In June 1917, Annie Besant and her associates, B.P. Wadia and George Arundale, were arrested.</p>
Why the Agitation Faded Out by 1919	<p>a) <u>Montagu-Chelmsford reforms</u> which became known in July 1918 further divided the nationalist ranks.</p> <p>b) There was a lack of effective organization.</p> <p>c). Communal riots were witnessed during 1917-18.</p> <p>d). Moderates who had joined the Congress after Annie Besant's arrest were pacified by talk of reforms and Besant's release.</p> <p>e). Talk of passive resistance by the Extremists kept the Moderates away from activity from September 1918 onwards.</p> <p>f). Tilak had to go abroad (September 1918) in connection with a case while Annie Besant vacillated over her response to the reforms and the techniques of passive resistance.</p>
Positive Gains	<p>a) The movement shifted the <u>emphasis from the educated elite to the masses</u> and permanently deflected the movement from the course mapped by the Moderates.</p> <p>b) It created an <u>organizational link between the town and the country</u>, which was to prove crucial in later years when the national movement entered its mass phase in a true sense.</p> <p>c). It created a generation of ardent nationalists.</p> <p>d). It prepared the masses for politics of the Gandhian style.</p> <p>e). August 1917 declaration of Montagu and the Montford reforms were influenced by the Home Rule agitation.</p> <p>f). The efforts of Tilak and Annie Besant towards the Moderate-Extremist reunion at Lucknow (1916) revived the Congress as an effective instrument of Indian nationalism.</p> <p>g). It lent a new dimension and a sense of urgency to the national movement.</p>
2. Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress (1916)	
Readmission of Extremists to Congress	<p>Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, presided over by a Moderate, <u>Ambika Charan Majumdar</u>. Various factors led to this reunion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Old controversies had become meaningless now. • Annie Besant and Tilak had made vigorous efforts for the reunion. • Both the Moderates and the Extremists realised that the split had led to

	<p>political inactivity.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Death of two Moderates, Gokhale and Pherozshah Mehta, pacified the opposition of moderates..
Lucknow Pact between Congress and Muslim League	<p>a) Congress and Muslim League came together to put joint demands to government..</p> <p>b) Why the Change in the League's Altitude</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Britain refused to help Turkey in Balkan wars (1912-13) and with <u>Italy</u> (during 1911) which angered the Muslims Annulment of partition of Bengal in 1911 had annoyed those sections of the Muslims who had supported the partition. Refusal of the British government to set up a university at Aligarh with powers to affiliate colleges all over India also alienated some Muslims. Younger League members were turning to bolder nationalist politics and were trying to outgrow the limited political outlook of the Aligarh school. <u>The goal of self-government similar to that of the Congress brought both sides closer.</u> Younger Muslims were infuriated by the government repression during the First World War. Maulana Azad's Al Hilal and Mohammad Ali's Comrade faced suppression while the leaders such as Ali brothers, Maulana Azad and Hasrat Mohani faced internment. It generated anti-imperialist sentiments among the 'Young Party'. <p>c) The Nature of the Pact-The joint demands were—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government should declare that it would confer <u>self government</u> on Indians at an early date. <u>Representative assemblies</u> at the central as well as provincial level should be further expanded with an elected majority and more powers given to them. The term of the legislative council should be <u>five years</u>. salaries of the Secretary of State for India should be <u>paid by the British treasury</u> and not drawn from Indian funds. <u>Half the members of the viceroy's and provincial governors' executive councils</u> should be Indians. <p>d) Critical Comments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lucknow Pact demands were thus just a significantly extended version of the Morley-Minto reforms. This was a major landmark in the evolution of the two- nation theory by the Muslim League. as contained in
<p>2. Montagu's Statement of August 1917</p> <p>Montagu's August 1917 declaration: Government decided to placate the nationalists by declaring its intention to <u>grant self-government to Indians in times to come.</u></p>	
Indian Objections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No specific time frame . Indians were resentful that the <u>British government alone was to decide the nature and the timing towards a responsible government.</u>

Chapter -15: Emergence of Gandhi

1. Why Nationalist Resurgence Now-	
Post-War Economic Hardships	<p>a) Industry-Inflation and recession coupled with increased foreign investment brought many industries to the brink of closure and loss.</p> <p>b) Workers and Artisans- This section of the populace faced <u>unemployment and bore the brunt of high prices.</u></p>

	<p>c) Peasantry- Faced with high taxation and poverty, the peasants waited for a lead to protest.</p> <p>d) Soldiers- Soldiers who returned from battlefields abroad gave an idea of their experience to the rural folk.</p> <p>e) Educated Urban Classes This section was facing unemployment as well as suffering from an acute awareness of racism in the attitude of the British.</p>
Expectations of Political Gains for Cooperation in the War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> After the war, there were high expectations of political gains from the British government which triggered the nationalists sentiments.
Impact of Russian Revolution (November 7, 1917)	<p>a) The Bolshevik Party of workers <u>overthrew the Czarist regime</u> and founded the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin.</p> <p>b) The Soviet Union unilaterally renounced the Czarist imperialist rights in China and the rest of Asia, gave rights of <u>self determination</u> to former Czarist colonies in Asia and gave <u>equal status</u> to the Asian nationalities within its borders. This inspired Indian nationalism.</p>

2. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and Government of India Act, 1919-

Main Features	1. Provincial Government— Introduction of Dyarchy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Executive <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Dyarchy- rule of two—<u>executive council and popular ministers</u> -was introduced. The governor was to be the executive head in the province. Subjects were divided into two lists: 'reserved' and 'transferred' subjects. The reserved subjects were to be administered by the governor through his executive council of bureaucrats, and the transferred subjects were to be administered by ministers nominated from among the elected members of the legislative council. The <u>ministers</u> were to be responsible to the legislature and had to resign if a no- confidence motion was passed against them by the legislature, while the <u>executive councillors</u> were not to be responsible to the legislature. In case of failure of constitutional machinery in the province the governor could take over the administration of transferred subjects also. The secretary of state for India and the governor general could interfere in respect of reserved subjects while in respect of the transferred subjects, the scope for their interference was restricted. Legislature <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Provincial legislative councils were further <u>expanded</u> and 70 per cent of the members were to be elected. The system of communal and class electorates was further <u>consolidated</u>. Women were also given the right to vote. The legislative councils could initiate legislation but the governor's assent was required. The governor could veto bills and issue ordinances. The legislative councils could reject the budget but the governor could restore it, if necessary. The legislators enjoyed freedom of speech.
	2. Central Government— Still Without Responsible Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Executive <ol style="list-style-type: none"> The governor-general was to be the chief executive authority. There were to be two lists for administration— central and provincial. In the viceroy's executive council of eight, three were to be Indians. The governor-general retained full control over the reserved

		<p>subjects in the provinces.</p> <p>5) The governor-general could restore cuts in grants, certify bills rejected by the central legislature and issue ordinances.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislature <p>1) A bicameral legislature was introduced. The lower house or Central Legislative Assembly would consist of 145 members and the upper house or Council of State would have 60 members.</p> <p>2) The Council of State had a tenure of 5 years and had only male members, while the Central Legislative Assembly had a tenure of 3 years.</p> <p>3) The legislators could ask questions, pass adjournment motions and vote a part of the budget, but 75 per cent of the budget was still not votable.</p>
Drawbacks		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Division of subjects was not satisfactory at the centre. • Franchise was very limited. The electorate was extended to some one-and-a-half million for the central legislature, while the population of India was around 260 million, as per one estimate. • Allocation of seats for central legislature to the provinces was based on 'importance' of provinces— for instance, Punjab's military importance and Bombay's commercial importance. • At the centre, the legislature had no control over the viceroy and his executive council. • At the level of provinces, division of subjects and parallel administration of two parts was irrational and, hence, unworkable. Subjects like irrigation, finance, police, press and justice were 'reserved'. • The provincial ministers had no control over finances and over the bureaucrats; this would lead to constant friction between the two. Ministers were often not consulted on important matters too; in fact, they could be overruled by the governor on any matter that the latter considered special.
Congress's Reaction		<p>1) The Congress organized a special session in Bombay in 1918 under Hasan Imam's presidency and declared the reforms to be "disappointing" and "unsatisfactory"</p> <p>2) Tilak- "unworthy and disappointing—a sunless dawn"</p> <p>Annie Besant - "unworthy of England to offer and India to accept".</p>
3. Making of Gandhi-		
Early Career and Experiments with Truth in South Africa-		<p>1) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869 in Porbandar in Gujarat. He studied law in England and went to South Africa to practice as a barrister. He stayed there till 1914 after which he returned to India.</p> <p>2) The Indians in South Africa consisted of three categories— <u>the indentured Indian labour; the merchants; and the ex-indentured labors.</u></p> <p>3) Moderate Phase of Struggle (1894-1906)-To unite different sections of Indians, Gandhi set up the <u>Natal Indian Congress and started a paper Indian Opinion.</u></p> <p>4) Phase of Passive Resistance or Satyagraha (1906-1914)-The second phase was characterized by the use of the method of passive resistance or civil disobedience, which Gandhi named <i>satyagraha</i>.</p> <p>5) Satyagraha against Registration Certificates (1906)- Gandhi formed the <u>Passive Resistance Association</u> to conduct the campaign of defying the law and suffering all the penalties. The concept of <u>satyagraha or devotion to truth, the technique of resisting adversaries without violence</u> was evolved here.</p> <p>6) Campaign against Restrictions on Indian Migration-The earlier campaign was widened to include protest against a new legislation imposing restrictions on Indian migration.</p> <p>7) Campaign against Poll Tax and Invalidation of Indian Marriages-</p> <p>8) Protest against Transvaal Immigration Act-The Indians illegally migrating from Natal into Transvaal as a part of civil disobedience.</p>
Gandhi's Experience in South Africa		<p>1) Gandhi found that the masses had immense capacity to participate in and sacrifice for a cause that moved them.</p> <p>2) He also came to realize that at times the leaders have to take decisions unpopular with their enthusiastic supporters.</p>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3) He evolved his own style of leadership and politics and new techniques of struggle on a limited scale, untrammelled by the opposition of contending political currents. 4) He was able to unite Indians belonging to different religions and classes, and men and women alike under his leadership.
4. Gandhi in India-	
Champaran Satyagraha (1917)—First Civil Disobedience	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The European planters had been forcing to follow the Tinkathiya system- the practice to grow indigo on 3/20 part of the total land. The peasants were forced to sell the produce at prices fixed by the Europeans. 2) When Gandhi, along with Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul- Haq, Mahadeo Desai, Narhari Parekh, and J.B. Kripalani, reached Champaran to probe into the matter. Initially, the authorities ordered him to leave the are. 3) The government appointed a committee to go into the matter and nominated Gandhi as a member. 4) Gandhi was able to convince the authorities that the tinkathia system should be abolished and that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them. 5) As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that only 25 per cent of the money taken should be compensated.
Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918)— First Hunger Strike	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) In March 1918, Gandhi intervened in a dispute between cotton mill owners of Ahmedabad and the workers over the issue of discontinuation of the plague bonus. 2) Gandhi asked the workers to go on a strike and demand a 35 per cent increase in wages instead of 50 per cent.

Kheda Satyagraha (1918)—First Non-Cooperation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Because of drought in 1918, the <u>crops failed in Kheda district of Gujarat</u>. According to the Revenue Code, if the yield was less than one-fourth the normal produce, the farmers were entitled to remission. b) Gandhi asked the farmers not to pay the taxes. Patel along with his colleagues organized the tax revolt which the different ethnic and caste communities of Kheda supported.
Gains from Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Gandhi demonstrated to the people the efficacy of his technique of satyagraha. b) He found his feet among the masses and came to have a surer understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the masses. c) He acquired respect and commitment of many.

5. Rowlatt Act, Satyagraha, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre-

1. The Rowlatt Act-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was what was officially called the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, or Rowlatt Act. It was based on the recommendations made by the Rowlatt Commission, • The act allowed political activists to be tried without juries or even imprisoned without trial. It allowed arrest of Indians without warrant on the mere suspicion of 'treason'. • The law of habeas corpus, the basis of civil liberty, was sought to be suspended.
2. Satyagraha Against the Rowlatt Act— First Mass Strike	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The masses had found a direction; now they could 'act' instead of just giving verbal expression to their grievances. • From now onwards, peasants, artisans and the urban poor were to play an increasingly important part in the struggle. • Orientation of the national movement turned to the masses permanently.
3. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (April 13, 1919)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On April 9, two nationalist leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal, were arrested by the British officials without any provocation. • This caused resentment among the Indian protesters who came out in thousands on April 10 to show their solidarity with their leaders. Soon the protests turned violent because the police resorted to firing in which some of the protesters were killed. • On Baisakhi day, a large crowd of people mostly from neighbouring villages, unaware of the prohibitory orders in the city, gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh, a popular place for public events, to celebrate the Baisakhi festival. • The troops surrounded the gathering under orders from General Dyer and blocked the only exit point and opened fire on the unarmed crowd. • According to official British Indian sources, 379 were identified dead, and approximately 1,100 were wounded. Indian National Congress, on the other hand, estimated more than 1,500 was injured, and approximately 1,000 were killed. But it is precisely known that 1650 bullets were fired into the crowd. • Gandhi gave up the title of Kaiser-i-Hind, bestowed by the British for his work during the

	<p>Boer War. Gandhi was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of total violence and withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> According to the historian, A.P.J Taylor, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was the “decisive moment when Indians were alienated from British rule”.
6. The Hunter Committee of Inquiry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were three Indians among the members, namely, Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad; Pandit Jagat Narayan, and Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan. The government had passed an Indemnity Act for the protection of its officers. The “white washing bill” as the Indemnity Act was called, was severely criticised by Motilal Nehru and others.. A former prime minister of Britain, H.H. Asquith called it “one of the worst outrages in the whole of our history”. The honouring of Dyer by the priests of Sri Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, was one of the reasons behind the intensification of the demand. Congress View-The Indian National Congress appointed its own non-official Committee and put forward its own view.

Chapter-16: Non-Cooperation Movement and Khilafat Aandolan

1. Background-	
Background to the two movements was provided by a series of events after the First World War. year 1919, various reasons:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic situation of the country in the post- War years had become alarming with a rise in prices of commodities, decrease in production of Indian industries, increase in burden of taxes and rents etc. Rowlatt Act, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre exposed the brutal and uncivilized face of the foreign rule. The Hunter Committee on the Punjab atrocities proved to be an eyewash. In fact, the House of Lords endorsed General Dyer’s action and the British public showed solidarity with General Dyer. Failure of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms with their ill conceived scheme of dyarchy to satisfy the rising demand of the Indians for self-government.
Post-First World War period also saw the preparation of ground for common political action by Hindus and Muslims—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lucknow Pact (1916) had stimulated Congress-Muslim League cooperation; Rowlatt Act agitation brought Hindus and Muslims, and also other sections of the society, together; and
2. The Khilafat Issue-	
Development of the Khalifat-Non-Cooperation Programme-	Delhi in November 1919, a call was made for the boycott of British goods. <u>Gandhi, who was the president of the All India Khilafat Committee</u> , saw Kijlafat as a platform from which mass and united noncooperation could be declared against the Government.
Congress Stand on Khilafat Question	<p>The Congress felt inclined to support a non-cooperation programme on the Khilafat question because—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> It was felt that <u>this was a golden opportunity to cement Hindu-Muslim unity and to bring Muslim masses into the national movement</u>; now different sections of society could come into the national movement by fighting for their own rights and realizing that the colonial rule was opposed to them Congress was losing faith in constitutional struggle, especially after the Punjab incidents and the blatantly partisan Hunter Committee Report; Congress believed in the power of masses.
Muslim League Support to Congress-	The Muslim League also decided to give full support to the Congress and its agitation on political questions.
3. The Non-Cooperation Khilafat Movement-	

Spread of the Movement	<p>a) Gandhi accompanied by the Ali brothers undertook a nationwide tour. Educational institutions were organised under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Dev, C.R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Zakir Hussain, Subhash Bose (who became the principal of National College at Calcutta) and included Jamia Millia at Aligarh, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Bihar Vidyapeeth.</p> <p>b) A no-tax movement against union board taxes in Midnapore (Bengal) and in Guntur (Andhra) was going on.</p> <p>c) In Assam, strikes in tea plantations, steamer services and Assam-Bengal Railways had been organised. J.M. Sengupta was a prominent leader in these strikes.</p> <p>d) In November 1921, the visit of the Prince of Wales to India invited strikes and demonstrations. The spirit of defiance and unrest gave rise to many local struggles such as Awadh Kisan Movement (UP), Eka Movement (UP), Mappila Revolt (Malabar) and the Sikh agitation for the removal of mahants in Punjab.</p>
People's Response	<p>a) Middle Class-People from the middle classes led the movement at the beginning but later they showed a lot of reservations about Gandhi's programme.</p> <p>b) Business Class- The economic boycott received support from the Indian business group because they had benefited from the nationalists' emphasis on the use of swadeshi.</p> <p>c) Peasants-Peasants' participation was huge.</p> <p>d) Students-Students became active volunteers of the movement</p> <p>e) Women-Women gave up purdah and offered their ornaments for the Tilak Fund.</p> <p>f) Hindu-Muslim Unity-The massive participation of Muslims and the maintenance of communal unity, despite the events like Moppila Uprisings, were great achievements.</p>
Government Response	Talks between Gandhi and Reading in May 1921. <u>Gandhi realised that the government was trying to drive a wedge between him and the Khilafat leaders and refused to fall into the trap.</u>
The Last Phase of the Movement	<p>a) Gandhi was now under increasing pressure from the Congress to start the civil disobedience programme. The Ahmedabad session in 1921 appointed Gandhi the sole authority on the issue.</p> <p>b) On February 1, 1922 Gandhi threatened to launch civil disobedience from Bardoli, Gujarat if</p> <p>(i) political prisoners were not released</p> <p>(ii) press controls were not removed.</p> <p>c) Chauri Chaura Incident-An incident of violence on February 5, 1922 which was to prompt Gandhi to withdraw the movement.</p> <p>d) Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli in February 1922 and resolved to stop all activity that led to breaking of the law and to get down to constructive work</p> <p>e) In March 1922, Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in jail.</p>
4. Why Gandhi Withdrew the Movement-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Movement was also showing signs of fatigue. In November 1922, the people of Turkey rose under Mustafa Kamal Pasha and deprived the sultan of political power. In 1924, the caliphate was abolished.
5. Evaluation of Khilafat Non-Cooperation Movement-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Movement brought the urban Muslims into the national movement, but at the same time it communalised the national politics, to an extent.

Chapter- 17 Emergence of Swarajists, Socialist Ideas, Revolutionary Activities & Other New Forces

1. Swarajists and No-Changers	
Genesis of Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 'Swarajists' Those advocating <u>entry into legislative councils</u> came to be known as the 'Swarajists'. 2. 'No-changers': the other school of thought was led by C. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and M.A. Ansari. 'No-changers' <u>opposed council entry, advocated concentration on constructive work</u>, and continuation of boycott and non-cooperation, and quiet preparation for resumption of the suspended civil disobedience programme.

	3. Congress announced the formation of Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party or Swarajist Party, with C.R. Das as the president and Motilal Nehru as one of the secretaries.
Swarajists' Arguments	<p>The reasons of Swarajists for the entry into the councils.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Entering the councils would not negate the noncooperation programme; in fact, it would be like carrying on the movement through other means i.e opening a new front. 2. In a time of political vacuum, council work would serve to encourage the masses and keep up their morale. Swarajists would deter the government from including unnecessary elements in the councils. 3. Councils could be used as an arena of political struggle; there was no intention to use the councils as organs for gradual transformation of colonial rule.
No-Changers' Arguments	No-Changers argued that parliamentary work would lead to neglect of constructive work, loss of revolutionary zeal and to political corruption .
Agree to Disagree-	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Both sides also realised the significance of putting up a united front to get a mass movement to force the government to introduce reforms, and both sides accepted the necessity of Gandhi's leadership of a united nationalist front. 2. Keeping these factors in mind, <u>a compromise was reached at a meeting in Delhi in September 1923</u>. The elections to the newly constituted Central and to provincial assemblies were to be held in November 1923.
The Swarajist Manifesto for Elections	<p>Swarajists released their manifesto in October 1923 and took a strong anti-imperialist line. The points put forward were as follows.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Guiding motive of the British in governing India lay in <u>selfish interests of their own country</u>; 2. Reforms were only a blind to further the said interests under the pretence of granting a responsible government, the real objective being to continue exploitation of the unlimited resources of the country by <u>keeping Indians permanently in a subservient position to Britain</u> 3. Swarajists would present the nationalist demand of self-government in councils; 4. If this demand was rejected, they would adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the councils to make governance through councils impossible; 5. Councils would thus be <u>wrecked from within by creating deadlocks on every measure</u>.
Gandhi's Attitude	<p>Gandhi was initially opposed to the Swarajist proposal of council entry. But after his release from prison on health grounds in February 1924, he gradually moved towards reconciliation with the Swarajists.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) He felt public opposition to the programme of council entry would be counter-productive. b) In the November 1923 elections, the Swarajists won 42 out of 141 elected seats and a clear majority in the provincial assembly of Central Provinces. c) There was a government crackdown on revolutionary terrorists and the Swarajists towards the end of 1924; d) Both sides came to an agreement in 1924
Swarajist Activity in Councils-	<p>--Swarajists lost the support of many Muslims when the party did not support the tenants' cause against the zamindars in Bengal</p> <p>--Responsivists among Swarajists—Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and N.C. Kelkar— <u>advocated cooperation with the government and holding of office wherever possible</u>.</p> <p>--Thus, the main leadership of the Swarajist Party withdrew from legislatures in March 1926 and reiterated faith in mass civil disobedience</p> <p>-- In 1930, the Swarajists finally walked out as a result of the Lahore Congress resolution on purna swaraj and the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement.</p>
Achievements	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) They exposed the hollowness of the Montford reforms. b) With coalition partners, they out-voted the government several times, even on matters relating to budgetary grants, and passed adjournment motions. c) Vithalbhai Patel was elected speaker of Central Legislative Assembly in 1925. d) A noteworthy achievement was the defeat of the Public Safety Bill in 1928 which was aimed at empowering the Government to deport undesirable and subversive foreigners.

	<p>e) By their activities, they filled the political vacuum at a time when the national movement was recouping its strength.</p> <p>f) They agitated through powerful speeches on self government, civil liberties and industrialisation</p> <p>g) They demonstrated that the councils could be used creatively.</p>
Drawbacks	<p>a) Swarajists lacked a policy to coordinate their militancy inside legislatures with the mass struggle outside.</p> <p>b) An obstructionist strategy had its limitations.</p> <p>c) They could not carry on with their coalition partners very far because of conflicting ideas, which further limited their effectiveness.</p> <p>d) They failed to resist the perks and privileges of power and office.</p> <p>e) They failed to support the peasants' cause in Bengal and lost support among Muslim members who were propeasant.</p> <p>f) They relied totally on newspaper reporting to communicate with the public.</p>
Constructive Work by No-Changers	<p>The No-Changers devoted themselves to constructive work that connected them to the different sections of the masses.</p> <p>a) Ashrams sprang up where young men and women worked among tribals and lower castes, and popularised the use of charkha and khadi.</p> <p>b) National schools and colleges were set up where students were trained in a non-colonial ideological framework.</p> <p>c) Significant work was done for Hindu-Muslim unity, removing untouchability, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, and for flood relief.</p> <p>d) The constructive workers served as the backbone of civil disobedience as active organisers.</p>
3. Emergence of New Forces: Socialistic Ideas, Youth Power, Trade Unionism-	
Spread of Marxist and Socialist Ideas-	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed in 1920 in Tashkent (now, the capital of Uzbekistan) by M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherji and others after the second Congress of Comintern. 2. M.N. Roy was also the first to be elected to the leadership of Comintern. 3. In 1924, many communists—S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Gupta—were jailed in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. 4. In 1925, the Indian Communist Conference at Kanpur formalised the foundation of the CPI. 5. In 1929, the government crackdown on communists resulted in the arrest and trial of 31 leading communists, trade unionists and left-wing leaders; they were tried at Meerut in the famous- Meerut conspiracy case.
Activism of Indian Youth	<p>--All over, students' leagues were being established and students' conferences were being held.</p> <p>--In 1928, Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the All Bengal Students Conference.</p>
Peasants' Agitations	<p>--Peasant agitations took place in the Rampa region of Andhra Pradesh (Rampa Rebellion), in Rajasthan, in Ryotwari areas of Bombay and Madras.</p> <p>--In Gujarat, the Bardoli Satyagraha was led by Vallabhbhai Patel (1928).</p>
Growth of Trade Unionism	<p>-- Trade union movement was led by All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) founded in 1920. Lala Lajpat Rai was its first president and Dewan Chaman Lal its general secretary.</p> <p>-- Major strikes during the 1920s included those in Kharagpur Railway Workshops, Tata Iron and Steel Works (Jamshedpur), Bombay Textile Mills (this involved 1,50,000 workers and went on for 5 months), and Buckingham Carnatic Mills.</p> <p>-- In 1923, the first May Day was celebrated in India in Madras.</p>
Caste Movements	<p>These movements could be divisive, conservative and at times potentially radical, and included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radical Ezhavas under K. Aiyappan and C. Kesavan in Kerala • Self-respect movement (1925) under "Periyar"—E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker (Madras) • Justice Party (Madras) • Satyashodhak activists in Satara (Maharashtra) • Bhaskar Rao Jadhav (Maharashtra) • Mahars under Ambedkar (Maharashtra)
Revolutionary	This ideology impressed those who were dissatisfied with the nationalist strategy of the

Activity with a Turn towards Socialism	political struggle with its emphasis on nonviolence.Two strands developed were-- <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hindustan Republican Association (H.R.A.)—in Punjab-UP-Bihar• Yugantar, Anushilan groups and later Chittagong Revolt Group under Surya Sen—in Bengal	
3. Revolutionary Activity During the 1920s		
Major Influences	<p>--The revolutionaries wanted to harness the revolutionary potential of the new emergent class for nationalist revolution and the left unionism.</p> <p>--Russian Revolution (1917) and the success of the young Soviet state in consolidating itself.</p> <p>--Newly sprouting communist groups with their emphasis on Marxism, socialism and the proletariat.</p> <p>--Journals publishing memoirs and articles extolling the self-sacrifice of revolutionaries, such as Atmasakti, Sarathi and Bijoli.</p> <p>--Novels and books such as Bandi Jiwan by Sachin Sanyal and Pather Dabi by Sharatchandra Chatterjee. A government ban only enhanced its popularity.</p>	
In Punjab-United Provinces-Bihar	1. Kakori Robbery (August 1925)	The most important action of the HRA was the Kakori robbery. Men held up the 8-Down train at Kakori, an obscure village near Lucknow, and looted its official railway cash .
	2. HSRA-	Determined to overcome the Kakori setback, the younger revolutionaries, inspired by socialist ideas, set to reorganize Hindustan Republic Association at a historic meeting in the ruins of Ferozshah Kotla in Delhi (September 1928) .
	3. Saunders' Murder (Lahore, December 1928)-	The death of Sher-i-Punjab- Lala Lajpat Rai due to lathi blows received during a lathi- charge ordered by Saunder on an anti-Simon Commission procession led them once again to take to individual assassination. They killed Saunders to avenge the death of Lala .
	4. Bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly(April 1929)-	Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt were asked to throw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1929 to protest against the passage of the Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Bill which aimed at curtailing civil liberties of citizens in general and workers in particular.
In Bengal-	<p>After C.R. Das's death (1925), the Bengal Congress broke up into two factions—</p> <p>--one led by J.M. Sengupta (Anushilan group joined forces with him) and</p> <p>--the other led by Subhash Bose (Yugantar group backed him).</p> <p>--The actions of the re-organised groups made an assassination attempt on the notorious Calcutta Police Commissioner,</p> <p>--Charles Tegart got killed) by Gopinath Saha in 1924.</p>	
Official Reaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• There was panic at first and then severe government repression.• Armed with 20 repressive Acts, the government let loose the police on the revolutionaries.	
Ideological Rethinking	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A real breakthrough was made by Bhagat Singh and his comrades in terms of revolutionary ideology..• Famous statement of the revolutionary position is contained in the book The Philosophy of the Bomb written by Bhagwaticharan Vohra. In other words, revolution could only be "by the masses, for the masses".• That is why Bhagat Singh helped establish the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1926) as an <u>open wing of revolutionaries to carry out political work</u>	
Redefining Revolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The revolution was no longer equated with militancy and violence. Its objective was to be national liberation• Bhagat Singh said in the court, "Revolution does not necessarily involve sanguinary strife or personal vendetta. It is not the cult of bomb and pistol. By revolution we mean the present order of things, which is based on manifesting injustice, must change."	

Chapter-18: Simon Commission and the Nehru Report

1. Appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission-		
Indian Response	The Indian response to the Simon Commission was immediate and nearly unanimous. 1. Congress Response -The Congress session in Madras (December 1927) meeting under the presidency of M.A. Ansari decided to boycott the commission “at every stage and in every form” . 2. Some liberals of Hindu mahasabha and majority factions of Muslim League supported the Congress call of boycott of the Simon Commission 3. The Muslim league had two sessions in 1927 – one under M.A.Jinnah at Calcutta where it was decided to oppose the Simon Commission, and another at Lahore under Muhammad Shafi , who supported the government. 4. Public Response -The commission landed in Bombay on February 3, 1928. Wherever the commission went, there were black flag demonstrations, hartals and slogans of ‘Simon Go Back’ .	
Police Repression-	The police came down heavily on demonstrators; there were Lathi charges not sparing even the senior leaders. Lala Lajpat Rai received severe blows on his chest in October 1928 which proved fatal and he died on November 17, 1928 .	
Impact of Appointment of Simon Commission on the National Movement-	The impact was two-fold: 1. It gave a stimulus to radical forces demanding not just complete independence but major socio - economic reforms on socialist lines. . 2. The challenge of Lord Birkenhead to Indian politicians to produce an agreed constitution was accepted by various political sections, and thus prospects for Indian unity seemed bright at that point of time.	
The Simon Commission Recommendations	1. The Simon Commission published a two-volume report in May 1930. It proposed the abolition of dyarchy and the establishment of representative government in the provinces which should be given autonomy. 2. The report rejected parliamentary responsibility at the centre. 3. It suggested that a Consultative Council of Greater India should be established which should include representatives of both the British provinces as well as princely states. 4. It suggested that the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan should get local legislatures. 5. It recommended that Sindh should be separated from Bombay , and Burma should be separated from India.	
2. Nehru Report-		
Main Recommendations	1. Dominion status on lines of self-governing dominions as the form of government. 2. Rejection of separate electorates which had been the basis of constitutional reforms so far. 3. Instead demanded joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims at the Centre and in provinces where they were in minority in proportion to the Muslim population there with right to contest additional seats. 4. Linguistic provinces . 5. Nineteen fundamental rights including <u>equal rights for women, right to form unions, and universal adult suffrage</u> .	
The Muslim and Hindu Communal Responses	1. Delhi Proposals of Muslim League-	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Proposals, which were accepted by the Madras session of the Congress (December 1927), came to be known as the ‘Delhi Proposals’. These were:joint electorates in place of separate electorates with reserved seats for Muslims;one-third representation to Muslims in Central Legislative Assembly;Representation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their population;Formation of three new Muslim majority provinces— Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province.

	<p>2. Hindu Mahasabha Demands</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Hindu Mahasabha was vehemently <u>opposed the proposals for creating new Muslim-majority provinces and reservation of seats for Muslims majorities in Punjab and Bengal</u>
	<p>3. Compromises</p> <p>The concessions made in the Nehru Report to Hindu communalists included the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Sindh to be detached from Bombay</u> only after dominion status was granted and subject to weightage given to Hindu minority in Sindh Political structure proposed broadly unitary, as residual powers rested with the centre.
Amendments Proposed by Jinnah-	<p>At the All Parties Conference held at Calcutta in December 1928 to consider the Nehru Report, Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League, proposed three amendments to the report:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> One-third representation to Muslims in the central legislature; Reservation to Muslims in Bengal and Punjab legislatures proportionate to their population, till adult suffrage was established; and Residual powers to provinces.
Jinnah's Fourteen Points-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Federal Constitution with residual powers to provinces. Provincial autonomy. No constitutional amendment by the centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation. All legislatures and elected bodies to have adequate representation of Muslims in every province without reducing a majority of Muslims in a province to a minority or equality. Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies. One-third Muslim representation in the central legislature. Full religious freedom to all communities In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, onethird to be Muslims. Separate electorates. Separation of Sindh from Bombay. No bill or resolution in any legislature to be passed if three-fourths of a minority community considers such a bill or resolution to be against their interests. Any territorial redistribution not to affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP. Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Baluchistan. Protection of Muslim rights in religion, culture, education and language.
Nehru Report Found Unsatisfactory	<p>Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh communalists were unhappy about the Nehru Report. Nehru and Subhash Bose rejected the Congress' modified goal and jointly set up the Independence for India League.</p>

Chapter-19: Civil Disobedience Movement and Round Table Conferences

1. The Run-up to Civil Disobedience Movement-	
Calcutta Session of Congress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928, Nehru Report was approved Congress decided that if the government did not accept a constitution based on dominion status by the end of the year, the Congress would not only <u>demand complete independence</u> but would also launch a <u>civil disobedience movement</u> to attain its goal.
Political Activity during 1929	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gandhi travelled incessantly during 1929 preparing people for direct political action. The Congress Working Committee (CWC) organized a Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee. Gandhi initiated the campaign in March 1929 in Calcutta and was arrested. This was followed by bonfires of foreign cloth all over the country. Other developments which kept the political temperature high during 1929 included the Meerut Conspiracy Case, bomb explosion in Central Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt (April).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A minority Labour government led by Ramsay MacDonald in England came up in May.
Lahore Congress and Purna Swaraj-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jawaharlal Nehru was nominated the president for the Lahore session of the Congress (December 1929) mainly due to <u>Gandhi's backing</u> (15 out of 18 Provincial Congress Committees had opposed Nehru). Nehru was chosen because of the appositeness of the occasion and to acknowledge the upsurge of youth this had made the anti-Simon campaign a huge success. <p><u>Following were the major decisions were taken at the Lahore session-</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Round Table Conference was to be boycotted. Complete independence was declared as the aim of the Congress. Congress Working Committee was authorised to launch a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes and all members of legislatures were asked to resign their seats. January 26, 1930 was fixed as the first Independence (Swarajya) Day, to be celebrated everywhere.
Delhi Manifesto-	<p>Leaders issued a 'Delhi Manifesto' which put forward certain conditions for attending the Round Table Conference:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> That the purpose of the Round Table Conference should be not to determine whether or when dominion status was to be reached but to formulate a constitution for implementation of the dominion status and the basic principle of dominion status should be immediately accepted; That the Congress should have majority representation at the conference; and There should be a general amnesty for political prisoners and a policy of conciliation. <p>Viceroy Irwin rejected the demands put forward in the Delhi Manifesto. The stage for confrontation was to begin now.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
December 31, 1929	<p>At midnight on the banks of River Ravi, the newly adopted tricolor flag of freedom was hoisted by Jawaharlal Nehru amidst slogans of Inquilab Zindabad.</p>
January 26, 1930: the Independence Pledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This pledge, which is supposed to have been drafted by Gandhi, made the following points: It is the inalienable right of Indians to have freedom. British Government in India has not only deprived us of freedom and exploited us, but has also ruined us economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. India must therefore sever the British connection and attain purna swaraj or complete independence. We are being economically ruined by high revenue, destruction of village industries with <u>no substitutions made</u>, while customs, currency and exchange rate are manipulated to our disadvantage. No real political powers are given—rights of free association are denied to us and all administrative talent in us is killed. Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly. Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings. We hold it a crime against man and God to submit any longer to British rule. We will prepare for complete independence by withdrawing all voluntary association from the British government and will prepare for civil disobedience through non-payment of taxes. We will carry out the Congress instructions for purpose of establishing purna swaraj.
2. Civil Disobedience Movement—the Salt Satyagraha and Other Upsurges-	
Gandhi's Eleven Demands	1. Issues of General Interest <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduce expenditure on Army and civil services by 50 per cent. Carry out reforms in Criminal Investigation Department (CID). <u>Change Arms Act</u> allowing popular control of issue of fire arms licences. <u>Release political prisoners.</u> Accept Postal Reservation Bill.
	2. Specific Bourgeois Demands <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduce rupee-sterling exchange ratio to 1:4 Introduce textile protection. Reserve coastal shipping for Indians.

	3. Specific Peasant Demands <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce land revenue by 50 per cent. • Abolish salt tax and government's salt monopoly. <p>With no positive response by February-end, Gandhi had decided to make salt the central formula for the movement</p>
Why Salt was Chosen as the Important Theme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salt in a flash linked the ideal of Swaraj • Salt afforded a very small but psychologically important income.
Dandi March (March 12-April 6, 1930)-	<p>On March 2, 1930, Gandhi informed the viceroy of his plan of action. According to this plan Gandhi, along with a band of seventy-eight members of Sabarmati Ashram, was to march from his headquarters in Ahmedabad through the villages of Gujarat for 240 miles. Gandhi gave the following directions for future action.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wherever possible civil disobedience of the salt law should be started. 2. Foreign liquor and cloth shops can be picketed. 3. We can refuse to pay taxes if we have the requisite strength. 4. Lawyers can give up practice. 5. Public can boycott law courts by refraining from litigation. 6. Government servants can resign from their posts. 7. All these should be subject to one condition—truth and non-violence as means to attain swaraj should be faithfully adhered to. 8. Local leaders should be obeyed after Gandhi's arrest.
Spread of Salt Disobedience-	<p>(a) After Gandhi's arrest, the CWC sanctioned:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • non-payment of revenue in ryotwari areas; • no-chowkidars-tax campaign in zamindari areas; and • Violation of forest laws in the Central Provinces. <p>(b) Satyagraha at Different Places</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tamil Nadu- In April 1930, C. Rajagopalachari organised a march from Thiruchirapalli to Vedaranniyam on the Tanjore coast to break the salt law. • Malabar- K. Kelappan, a Nair Congress leader famed for the Vaikom Satyagraha, organised salt marches. • Andhra Region- District salt marches were organized in east and west Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. • Orissa-Under Gopalbandhu Chaudhuri, a Gandhian leader, salt satyagraha proved effective in the coastal regions of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts. • Assam-The civil disobedience failed to regain the heights attained in 1921-22 due to divisive issues • Bengal-During the same period, Surya Sen's Chittagong revolt group carried out a raid on two armouries and declared the establishment of a provisional government. • Bihar- Champaran and Saran were the first two districts to start salt satyagraha. In Patna, Nakhas Pond was chosen as a site to make salt and break the salt law under Ambika Kant Sinha. • Peshawar- Abdul Gaffar Khan, also called Badshah Khan or Frontier Gandhi, had started the first Push to political monthly Pukhtoon and had organised a volunteer brigade 'Khudai Khidmatgars', popularly known as the 'Red-Shirts'. • Sholapur- It saw the fiercest response to Gandhi's arrest. <u>Textile workers went on a strike from May 7</u> • Dharasana- On May 21, 1930, Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal (Gandhi's son) took up the unfinished task of leading a raid on the Dharasana Salt Works. • Gujarat- The impact was felt in Anand, Borsad and Nadiad areas in Kheda district, Bardoli in Surat district and Jambusar in Bharuch district

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Provinces- These areas saw defiance of forest laws • United Provinces- A no-revenue campaign was organised; a call was given to zamindars to refuse to pay revenue to the government. • Manipur and Nagaland- These areas took a brave part in the movement. Rani Gaidinliu, a Naga spiritual leader, who followed her cousin Haipou Jadonang, born in what is now the state of Manipur, raised the banner of revolt against foreign rule.
	(c) Forms of Mobilisation-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilisation of masses was also carried out through prabhat pheries, vanar senas, manjari senas, secret patrikas and magic lantern shows.
Impact of Agitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imports of foreign cloth and other items fell. • Government suffered a loss of income from liquor, excise and land revenue. • Elections to Legislative Assembly were largely boycotted. 	
Extent of Mass Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women- Gandhi had specially asked women to play a leading part in the movement. Large number of <u>women came out of their homes, gave up purdah and picketed shops and burnt foreign cloth.</u> • Students-students and youth played the most prominent part in the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor. • Muslims- The Muslim participation was nowhere near the 1920-22 level because of appeals by <u>Muslim leaders to stay away from the movement</u> • Merchants and Petty Traders- Traders' associations and commercial bodies were active in implementing the boycott, especially in Tamil Nadu and Punjab. • Tribals- Tribals were active participants in Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Karnataka. • Workers- The workers participated in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Sholapur, etc. • Peasants- were active in the United Provinces, Bihar and Gujarat. 	
Government Response—Efforts for Truce	<p>Government faced the classic dilemma of 'damned if you do, damned if you don't'.</p> <p>In July 1930- Lord Irwin, suggested a round table conference and reiterated the goal of dominion status.</p> <p>In August 1930-The Nehrus and Gandhi unequivocally reiterated the demands of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • right of secession from Britain; • complete national government with <u>control over defence and finance</u>; and • An independent tribunal to settle Britain's financial claims. 	
Evaluation of Civil Disobedience Movement	<u>Was Gandhi-Irwin Pact a Retreat?</u>	<p>Gandhi-Irwin Pact was not a retreat, because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mass movements are necessarily short-lived; • capacity of the masses to make sacrifices, unlike that of the activists, is limited; and • There were signs of exhaustion after September 1930, especially among shopkeepers and merchants.
	<u>Comparison to Non-Cooperation Movement</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective this time was complete independence and not just remedying specific wrongs and a vaguely-worded swaraj. • The methods involved violation of law from the very beginning and not just non-cooperation with foreign rule. • There was a decline in forms of protests involving the intelligentsia, such as lawyers giving up practice, students giving up government schools to join national schools and colleges. • Muslim participation was nowhere near that in the <u>Non-Cooperation Movement level</u>. • No major labour upsurge coincided with the movement. • Massive participation of peasants and business groups compensated for decline of other features. • Number of those imprisoned was about three times more this time.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none">Congress was organisationally stronger.
3. Karachi Congress Session—1931-		
Congress Resolutions at Karachi	<ul style="list-style-type: none">While disapproving of and dissociating itself from political violence, the Congress admired the 'bravery' and 'sacrifice' of the three martyrs.Delhi Pact or Gandhi-Irwin Pact was endorsed.Goal of purna swaraj was reiterated. Two resolutions were adopted which made the session particularly memorable.	
	Resolution on Fundamental Rights guaranteed	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Free speech and free pressRight to form associationsRight to assembleUniversal adult franchiseNeutrality of state in religious mattersFree and compulsory primary educationProtection to culture, language, script of minorities and linguistic groupsEqual legal rights irrespective of caste, creed and sex
	Resolution on National Economic Programme included	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Substantial reduction in rent and revenue in the case of Landholders and peasantsExemption from rent for uneconomic holdingsRelief from agricultural indebtedness control of usuryRight to workers and peasants to form unionsState ownership and control of key industries, mines and means of transport.Better conditions of work including a living wage, limited hours of work and protection of women workers in the industrial sector
4. The Round Table Conferences-		
First Round Table Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none">First Round Table Conference was held in London between November 1930 and January 1931, chaired by Ramsay MacDonald.Outcome- Nothing much was achieved at the conference. It was generally agreed that India was to develop into a federationIt was boycotted by congress and other parties but attended by a few Indians- B.R. Ambedkar, T.B. Sapru, Jinnah were few of them	
Second Round Table Conference	<p>The Second Round Conference opened on September 7, 1931. Gandhi represented INC. He put the following demands:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-- A responsible government must be established immediately and in full, both at the centre and in the provinces.--Congress alone represented political India.--The Untouchables were Hindus and should not be treated as a "minority",--There should be no separate electorates or special safeguards for Muslims or minorities. <p>Outcome: sole outcome of this session was the <u>widening of the gap between the Congress and the minorities</u>. Gandhi along with others came back, disappointed, without any achievement.</p>	
Third Round Table Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Third Round Table Conference, held between November 17, 1932 and December 24, 1932, was <u>not attended by the Indian National Congress and Gandhi</u>.Recommendations were published in a White Paper in March 1933 and debated in the British Parliament afterwards. A Joint Select Committee was formed to analyse the recommendations and formulate a new Act for India, and that committee produced a draft Bill in February 1935 which was enforced as the Government of India Act of 1935 in July 1935.	
5. Civil Disobedience Resumed-		
During Truce Period (March-December 1931)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">In the United Provinces, the Congress had been leading a movement <u>for rent reduction and against summary evictions</u>.In the NWFP, severe repression had been unleashed against the Khudai KhidmatgarsIn September 1931, there was a firing incident on political prisoners in Hijli Jail.	
Changed	There were three main considerations in British policy:	

Government Attitude After Second RTC-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gandhi would not be permitted to build up the tempo for a mass movement again. Goodwill of the Congress was not required, but the confidence of those who supported the British against the Congress—government functionaries, loyalists, etc.—was very essential. National movement would not be allowed to consolidate itself in rural areas.
Government Action-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A series of repressive ordinances were issued which ushered in a 'Civil Martial Law'.
Popular Response-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People responded with anger. Though unplanned, the response was huge.
6. Communal Award and Poona Pact-	
Main Provisions of the Communal Award	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> An arrangement for the depressed classes was to be made for a period of 20 years. In the provincial legislatures, the seats were to be distributed on communal basis. Existing seats of the provincial legislatures were to be doubled. Muslims, wherever they were in minority, were to be granted a weightage. Except in the North West Frontier Province, 3 per cent seats were to be reserved for women in all provinces. Depressed classes to be declared/accorded the status of minority. Depressed classes were to get 'double vote', one to be used through separate electorates and the other to be used in the general electorates. In the province of Bombay, 7 seats were to be allocated for the Marathas.
Congress Stand-	Though opposed to separate electorates, the Congress was not in favour of changing the Communal Award without the consent of the minorities.
Gandhi's Response	Gandhi saw the Communal Award as an attack on Indian unity and nationalism . And to press his demands, he went on an indefinite fast on September 20, 1932 .
Poona Pact	Signed by B.R. Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes on September 24, 1932 , the Poona Pact abandoned the idea of separate electorates for the depressed classes.
Joint Electorates and Its Impact on Depressed Classes-	The provisions of the joint electorate gave the Hindu majority the virtual right to nominate members of the scheduled castes who were prepared to be the tools of the Hindu majority . The working committee of the federation, thus, demanded for the restoration of the system of separate electorates , and nullification of the system of joint electorates and reserved seats .
7. Gandhi's Harijan Campaign and thoughts on Caste	
Gandhi launched a whirlwind campaign	First from jail and then from outside jail after his release in August 1933 .
He undertook two fasts	Gandhi repeatedly described the campaign as being primarily meant to purify Hinduism and Hindu society
Impact of the Campaign	On May 8 and August 16, 1934 Gandhi was attacked by orthodox and reactionary elements. The government obliged them by defeating the Temple Entry Bill in August 1934.
8. Ideological Differences and Similarities between Gandhi and Ambedkar*-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gandhi, the <u>principal architect of the Indian freedom struggle</u>, and B.R. Ambedkar, the <u>principal architect of the Constitution of independent India</u>. Burning of foreign cloth by Gandhi and the burning of Manusmriti by Ambedkar are not to be seen as mere acts of sentiment. Rather, foreign cloth and Manusmriti represented the bondage and slavery for India. Gandhi believed that freedom was never to be bestowed but to be wrested from the authority by the people who desire it, whereas <u>Ambedkar expected bestowing of freedom by the imperial rulers</u>. Ambedkar advocated parliamentary system of government for independent India, but Gandhi had very little respect for the parliamentary system of governance. Gandhi believed that democracy tends to get converted into mass democracy with a propensity for domination by leaders. Ambedkar was <u>inclined towards mass democracy</u> as it could act as a pressure on the government with the advancement of the oppressed people. Ambedkar's politics tended to highlight the aspect of Indian disunity whereas the Gandhian politics tried to show the aspect of Indian unity. According to Ambedkar absolute sovereign power of the State would annihilate the spirit and personality of an individual. Gandhi, in fact, believed in least governance

	<p>being the best governance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gandhi and Ambedkar differed greatly in their views concerning mechanisation of production and utilisation of heavy machinery. • To Gandhi, untouchability was one of the many problems confronted by Indian society. To Ambedkar, untouchability was the major problem that captured his sole attention. • Ambedkar wanted to solve the problem of untouchability through laws and constitutional methods, whereas Gandhi treated untouchability as a moral stigma and wanted it to be erased by acts of atonement.
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Chapter-20: Debates on the Future Strategy after Civil Disobedience Movement

Civil Disobedience Movement	
Following the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement by Gandhi on the issue of violence at chauri chaura, there was a two-stage debate on the future strategy by the nationalists.	
1. The First Strategic Debate-	
Perspectives-	<p>Three perspectives were as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Constructive work as per Gandhian lines to prepare the masses for next phase. 2. A constitutional struggle to be waged by participating in elections to the Central Legislature. (advocated by M.A. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai, Desai, S. Satyamurthy and B.C. Roy) They argued that elections and assuming offices are important- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To keep up the political interest and morale of the people; • As it suggests not the faith in constitutional politics but symbolic participation; • as another political front to help prepare the masses for the next phase; • for prestige and confidence and a strong presence in councils would be alike to the movement. 3. A strong leftist trend within the Congress, represented by Nehru, was critical of both. This section favoured resumption and continuation of mass struggle because the circumstances were still revolutionary due to continued economic crisis and the enthusiasm of the masses to fight.
Nehru's Vision-	Nehru said, "The basic goal before Indian people as before people of the world is abolition of capitalism and establishment of socialism. "
Nehru's Opposition to Struggle-Truce-Struggle Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congressmen led by Gandhi believed that a mass phase of movement (struggle phase) had to be followed by a phase of reprieve (truce phase) before the next stage of mass struggle could be taken up. The truce period, it was argued, would allow the masses to regain their strength to fight and also give the government a chance to respond to the demands of the nationalists. This was the struggle truce-struggle or S-T-S strategy. • Against an S-T-S strategy, Nehru suggested a Struggle-Victory (S-V) strategy without any resting phase a continued struggle until end result.
Finally, Yes to Council Entry-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In May 1934, the All India Congress Committee (AICC) met at Patna to set up a Parliamentary Board to fight elections under the guidance of the Congress itself. • In the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly held in November 1934, the Congress seized 45 out of 75 seats reserved for Indians.
2. Government of India Act, 1935-	

Main Features-	<p>The deliberations led to the formulation of the Act of 1935.</p> <p><u>An All India Federation-</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Federation's formation was conditional upon the fulfillment of: (i) states (with allotment of 52 seats in the proposed Council of States) should approve to join the federation; and (ii) cumulative population of states in the above category should be 50 per cent of the total population of all Indian states. Since these conditions were not fulfilled federation never came into being. <p><u>Federal Level:</u></p> <p>Executive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The governor-general was the axis of the entire Constitution. Subjects to be administered were separated into reserved and transferred subjects. Reserved subjects (foreign affairs, defence, tribal areas and ecclesiastical affairs) were to be exclusively directed by the governor-general on the advice of executive councilors, who were not to be responsible to the central legislature. Transferred subjects included rest of the subjects which were to be administered by the governor-general on the advice of ministers elected by the legislature, who were to be responsible to the federal legislature and were to resign on losing the confidence of the body. Governor-general could act in his individual capacity while discharging his special responsibilities for the security and tranquillity of India. <p>Legislature</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bicameral legislature was to have an upper house (Council of States) and a lower house (Federal Assembly) having 260 and 375 members respectively who were partly elected from British provinces and partly nominated by princes. Direct election to the Council of States and indirect one to the Federal Assembly Council of States was made a permanent body with one-third members retiring every third year. Its duration was to be 5 years. Three lists for legislation purposes - federal, provincial and concurrent. The power to move a vote of no-confidence against ministers given to Members of Federal Assembly and not to that of Council of States. Scheme of religion-based and class-based electorates was further extended. 80 per cent of the budget was non-votable. Governor-general assumed residuary powers. <p><u>Provincial Autonomy:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provincial autonomy in place of dyarchy. Provinces were separate legal identity. Provinces were freed from "the superintendence, direction" of the secretary of state and governor-general deriving their legal authority directly from the British Crown. Provinces were given independent financial powers and resources. Provincial governments could borrow money on their own security.
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	<p>Executive</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Governor would be the Crown's representative to exercise authority on the king's behalf in a province. Governor had special powers vis-à-vis minorities, rights of civil servants, law and order, British business interests, partially excluded areas, princely states, etc. Governor could take over and indefinitely run administration. <p>Legislature</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Separate electorates based on Communal Award made operational. All members were to be elected directly. Franchise was extended with women getting the right on the same basis as men. Ministers were to administer all provincial subjects in a council of ministers headed by a premier. Ministers were made responsible to and removable by the adverse vote of the legislature. Provincial legislature could legislate on subjects in provincial and concurrent lists. 40 per cent of the budget was still not voteable. Governor was empowered to (a) refuse assent to a bill, (b) promulgate ordinances, (c) enact governor's Acts.
Evaluation of the Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Numerous 'safeguards' and 'special responsibilities' of the governor-general adversely affected implementation of the act. In provinces, the governor still had wide-ranging powers. It enfranchised 14 per cent of British Indian population. Extension of the system of communal electorates and representation of various interests encouraged separatist tendencies which concluded in partition of India. The Act provided a rigid constitution as the Right of amendment was reserved with the British Parliament.
The Long-Term British Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suppression used only as short-term tactic. In the long run, the strategy was to wane the congress and integrate large sections involved in the movement into colonial, constitutional and administrative structure. Reforms would recover the political prestige of constitutionalist liberals and moderates who had lost public support during the Civil Disobedience Movement. Repression earlier and reforms now would influence a large section of Congressmen to give up on extra-legal struggle. Once Congressmen tasted power, they would be unwilling to go back to Politics of sacrifice. Reforms could be used to create dissents within Congress — right wing to be pacified through constitutional concessions and radical leftists to be crumpled through police measures. Provincial autonomy would create powerful provincial leaders who would gradually become autonomous centres of political power leaving the nationalist struggle.
Nationalists' Response-	The 1935 Act was condemned by almost every section and totally rejected by the Congress .

3. The Second Strategic Debate-

Divided Opinion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Bose, and Congress socialists and communists were divergent to office acceptance and so in the working of the 1935 Act because they argued that it would disprove the rejection of the Act by the nationalists. As a counter-strategy, the leftists proposed entry into the councils with a purpose to create deadlocks, thus making the working of the Act impossible Proponents of office acceptance argued that they were equally dedicated to combating the 1935 Act, but work in legislatures was to be only a short-term tactic
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Gandhi's Position	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Gandhi opposed office acceptance in the CWC meetings but by the beginning of 1936, he was ready to give a trial to the formation of Congress ministries.• In February 1937, elections were held in eleven provinces—Madras, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency, Assam, NWFP, Bengal, Punjab and Sindh.
Congress Manifesto for Elections	The Congress manifesto reaffirmed total rejection of the 1935 Act.
Congress' Performance	Congress won 716 out of 1,161 seats it contested. It got a majority in all provinces, except in Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Sindh and the NWFP.

Chapter-21: Congress Rule in Provinces

1. Gandhi's Advice	Gandhi advised Congressmen to hold these offices lightly and not tightly. The offices were to be seen as ' crowns of thorns '
2. Work under Congress Ministries-	
Civil Liberties-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laws granting emergency powers were repealed. • Ban on illegal organisations and on certain books and journals was lifted. • Press restrictions were lifted. Newspapers were taken out of black lists. • Confiscated arms and arms licences were restored. • Police powers were curbed and the CID stopped shadowing politicians. • Political prisoners and revolutionaries were released, and deportation and internment orders were revoked. • In Bombay lands confiscated by the government during the Civil Disobedience Movement were restored. • Pensions of officials associated with the Civil Disobedience Movement were restored.
Agrarian Reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ministries did not have adequate powers. • There were insufficient financial resources as a lion's share was appropriated by the Government of India. • Strategy of class adjustments was another hurdle since zamindars, etc., had to be appeased and nullified. • There was paucity of time since the logic of Congress politics was confrontation and not cooperation with colonialism. • Imminent danger of war. • The reactionary second chamber (Legislative Council) dominated by landlords, moneylenders and capitalists in United Provinces, Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Assam had to be appeased as its support was necessary for legislations. • The agrarian structure was too complex.
Attitude Towards Labour	The basic approach was to advance workers' interests while promoting industrial peace. The ministries took recourse to Section 144 and arrested the leaders.
Social Welfare Reforms-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prohibition imposed in certain areas. • Actions for welfare of Harijans taken. • Attention given to primary, technical and higher education and to public health and sanitation. • Support given to khadi through subsidies and other measures. • Prison reforms started. • Encouragement given to indigenous enterprises. • Efforts made to develop planning process through National Planning Committee set up under Congress president Subhash Bose in 1938.
Extra-Parliamentary Mass Activity of Congress-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of mass literacy campaigns. • Congress police stations and panchayats set up. • Congress Grievance Committees submitting mass petitions to government • States peoples' movements outside British provinces.
3. Evaluation-	
The 28-month Congress rule was also significant for the following reasons.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The argument that Indian self-government was necessary for radical social transformation got established. • Established that a movement could use state power to further its ends without being co-opted. • The ministries were able to control communal riots. • The morale of the bureaucracy shaken. • Council work helped defuse many erstwhile hostile elements (landlords, etc.). • People were able to notice the shape of things to come if independence was won. • Administrative work done deteriorated the myth that Indians were not fit to rule. • The Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 after the outbreak of the Second World War.

Chapter- 22: Nationalist Response in the Wake of World War II

1. Congress Crisis on Method of Struggle-	
Haripura and Tripuri Sessions: Subhash Bose's Views	<p>Subhash Chandra Bose was president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. He had some radical ideas-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subhash Bose did not agree with Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress on many aspects of the struggle for freedom. • Opposed the Motilal Nehru Report which spoke for dominion status. • Announced the formation of the Independence League. • Vehemently against the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement • Against The signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931 as the government refused to negotiate on the death sentence for Bhagat Singh and his associates.
Haripura	Bose was unanimously elected president of the Haripura session , Gujarat, in February 1938.
1939: Subhash Wins but Congress Faces Internal Strife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In January 1939, Subhash Bose decided to stand again for the president's post in the Congress. • Gandhi was not happy with Bose's candidature. The candidate supported by Gandhi was Pattabhi Sitaramayya. • Subhash Bose won the election by 1580 votes against 1377. Now it became Gandhi vs Bose issue.
Tripuri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In March 1939 the Congress session took place at Tripuri, in the Central Provinces (near Jabalpur in present Madhya Pradesh). • The working committee, the ruling body of the Congress, is nominated by the president; the election of the president is thus a constitutional opportunity through which the membership expressed the nature of the leadership of the Congress. • A resolution was moved by Govind Ballabh Pant, reaffirming faith in Gandhian policies and asking Bose to nominate the working committee "in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji", and it was passed without opposition from the socialists or the communists thus majority preferred a united Congress led by Gandhi, as the national struggle was of utmost importance. • Bose resigned from the president's post in April 1939 and formed Forward Bloc as new party within the Congress. • Further he was no longer president of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and barred from occupying any office under congress.
2. Gandhi and Bose: Ideological Differences-	
Non-Violence versus Militant Approach	<p>Gandhi was a steady advocate of ahimsa and satyagraha, the nonviolent way to advance any goal.</p> <p>Bose believed that ideology of non- violence would be insufficient for securing India's independence.</p>
Means and Ends	<p>Gandhi felt that the non-violent way of protest could not be practiced unless the means and ends were equally good.</p> <p>Bose had his eye on the outcome of the action.</p>
Form of Government	<p>Gandhi's ideal state, his Ramrajya, did not need a representative government, a constitution, an army or a police force and where Capitalism, communism, exploitation and religious violence would be absent.</p> <p>Bose turned towards the idea that, at least in the beginning, a democratic system would not be suitable for the process of nation rebuilding and the eradication of poverty and social inequality.</p>
Militarism	<p>Gandhi was in contradiction of the military on the whole.</p> <p>Bose was deeply attracted to military discipline and was appreciative for the basic training he received in the University Unit of the India Defence Force.</p>
Ideas on Economy	<p>Gandhi's concept of Swaraj had its own brand of economic vision. He wanted a decentralised economy without state control.</p> <p>Bose considered economic freedom to be the essence of social and political freedom.</p>
Caste and Untouchability	Gandhi's main goals for society without revolution: eradicating untouchability, maintaining the varna distinctions of the caste system and strengthening tolerance, modesty and

	<p>religiosity in India.</p> <p>Bose looked forward to an India reformed by a socialist revolution that would terminate the traditional social hierarchy with its caste system giving way to an egalitarian, casteless and classless society.</p>
Women	<p>In Gandhi's words, "To call women the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to women."</p> <p>Bose considered women to be the equals of men, and thus they should be prepared to fight and sacrifice for the freedom of India. In 1943, he called on women to serve as soldiers in the Indian National Army.</p>
3. Second World War and Nationalistic Response-	
Congress Offer to Viceroy	<p>The Indian offer to cooperate in the war effort had two basic prerequisites:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subsequent to the war, a constituent assembly to determine political structure of a free India. • Immediately, some form of a genuine responsible government should be established at the Centre. <p>The offer was rejected by Linlithgow, the viceroy.</p>
CWC Meeting at Wardha	<p>Official Congress position was adopted at the Wardha session of the CWC because of different views:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gandhi advocated an unconditional support to the Allied powers. • Subhas Bose and other socialists, such as Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan, had no sympathy for either side in the war. • Jawaharlal Nehru was not ready to accept the either sides. He, therefore, advocated no Indian participation till India itself was free. However, no advantage was to be taken of Britain's trouble by starting an immediate popular movement. <p>The CWC resolution condemned Fascist aggression. It said that</p> <p>(i) India could not be party to a war being fought for democratic freedom, while that very freedom was being denied to India;</p> <p>(ii) if Britain was fighting for democracy and freedom, it should be demonstrated by ending imperialism in its colonies and establishing full democracy in India;</p> <p>(iii) the government should affirm its war aims soon and, also, as to how the principles of democracy were to be applied to India after the war.</p>
4. Government Attitude and Congress Ministries' Resignation-	
Government's Hidden Agenda	<p>Linlithgow's statement was not an aberration, but a part of general British policy— "to take advantage of the war to regain the lost ground from the Congress". In May 1940, a top-secret Draft Revolutionary Movement Ordinance had been prepared, aimed at launching crippling pre-emptive strikes on the Congress.</p>
Congress Ministries Decide to Resign	<p>On October 23, 1939, the CWC meeting</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) rejected the viceregal statement as a repetition of the old imperialist policy; 2) decided not to back the war; and 3) Called upon the Congress ministries to resign in the provinces. 4)
Debate on the Question of Immediate Mass Satyagraha	<p>Gandhi and his supporters were not in favour of an immediate struggle because they felt that</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Allied cause was just; 2) Communal riots can breakout due to lack of Hindu-Muslim unity; 3) Congress organisation was in fiasco and the environment was not conducive for a mass struggle; and 4) Masses were not prepared for a struggle. <p>The Ramgarh session of the Congress was held in March 1940 with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the president's chair. Resolution on Complete Independence passed and a civil disobedience movement as soon as circumstances are fit enough.</p>
Pakistan Resolution— Lahore (March 1940)	<p>Muslim League passed a resolution calling for "grouping of geographically contiguous areas where Muslims are in majority (North-West, East) into independent states.</p>

5. August Offer	
Responses	<p>Congress rejected the August Offer.</p> <p>Muslim League welcomed the veto assurance given to the League.</p>
Evaluation	For the first time, the inherent right of Indians to frame their constitution was recognised. In July 1941, the viceroy's executive council was enlarged to give the Indians a majority of 8 out of 12 for the first time, but the British remained in charge of defence, finance and home.
6. Individual Satyagraha-	
The aims of launching individual satyagraha were—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To demonstrate that nationalist patience was not due to weakness; • To convey people's feeling that they were not interested in the war and that they made no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that ruled India; and to give another opportunity to the government to accept Congress' demands peacefully.
7. Gandhi Designates Nehru as his Successor-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nehru and Gandhi differed in personality and attitudes towards modernity, religion, God, State and industrialisation. Despite having so many differences, Nehru revered Gandhi, and Gandhi, in turn, believed in Nehru more than his own sons. • Essential similarities—patriotism in an inclusive sense, i.e., they acknowledged India as a whole rather than associating with a particular caste, language, region or religion. Both believed in non-violence and democratic form of government. • According to Rajmohan Gandhi, Gandhi preferred Nehru to the alternatives because he most reliably mirrored the pluralist, inclusive idea of India that the Mahatma himself stood for.
8. Cripps Mission-	
Why Cripps Mission was Sent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because of the reverses suffered by Britain in South- East Asia, the Japanese threat to invade India seemed real now and Indian support became crucial. There was pressure on Britain from the Allies (USA, USSR, China) to seek Indian cooperation. • Indian nationalists had agreed to support the Allied cause on condition of substantial power was transferred immediately and complete independence given after the war.
Main Proposals-	<p>The main proposals of the mission were as follows.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Indian Union with a dominion status would be set up; it would be free to decide its relations with the Commonwealth and free to participate in the United Nations and other international bodies. • After the end of the war, a constituent assembly would be convened to frame a new constitution. Members of this assembly would be partly elected by the provincial assemblies through proportional representation and partly nominated by the princes. • British government would accept the new constitution subject to two conditions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Any province not willing to join the Union could have a separate constitution and form a separate Union, and 2. The new constitution making body and the British government would negotiate a treaty to effect the transfer of power and to safeguard racial and religious minorities. • In the meantime, defence of India would remain in British hands and the governor-general's powers would remain intact.
Departures from the Past and Implications	<p>The proposals differed from those offered in the past in many respects—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The making of the constitution was to be solely in Indian hands now (and not 'mainly' in Indian hands—as contained in the August Offer). • A concrete plan was provided for the constituent assembly. • Option was available to any province to have a separate constitution—a blueprint for India's partition. Free India could withdraw from the Commonwealth. • Indians were allowed a large share in the administration in the interim period.

Chapter-23: Quit India Movement, Demand for Pakistan, and the INA

1. Quit India Movement

Why Start a Struggle Now	<p>The reasons were several—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure of the Cripps Mission to solve the constitutional deadlock • Public discontent because of rising prices and shortage of rice, salt, etc., and because of factors such as commandeering of boats in Bengal and Orissa. • There were fears of Britain following a scorched earth policy in Assam, Bengal and Orissa against possible Japanese advance. • News of reverses suffered by the British in South- East Asia. The Japanese troops were approaching the borders of India led to the feeling of imminent British collapse. • British behaviour towards the Indian subjects in South-East Asia exposed the racist attitude of the rulers. • Leadership wanted to prepare the masses for a possible Japanese invasion. 	
The 'Quit India' Resolution-	<p>Quit India Resolution was ratified at the AICC meeting at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, on August 8, 1942. The meeting also resolved to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demand an immediate end to British rule in India. • Declare commitment of free India to defend itself against all types of Fascism and imperialism. • Form a provisional Government of India after British withdrawal. • Sanction a civil disobedience movement against British rule. 	
Gandhi's General Instructions to Different Sections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government servants: Do not resign but declare your allegiance to the Congress. • Soldiers: Do not leave the Army but do not fire on compatriots. • Students: If confident, leave studies. • Peasants: If zamindars are anti-government, pay mutually agreed rent, and if zamindars are pro- government, do not pay rent. • Princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people. • Princely states' people: Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare yourselves to be a part of the Indian nation. 	
Spread of the Movement	Public on Rampage-	attacked symbols of authority and hoisted national flags forcibly on public buildings.
	Underground Activity	Many nationalists went underground and took to subversive activities. The participants in these activities were the Socialists, Forward Bloc members, Gandhi ashramites, revolutionary nationalists and local organisations
	Parallel Governments	Parallel governments were established at many places: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ballia (in August 1942 for a week)—under Chittu Pandey. • Tamluk (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944)—Jatiya Sarkar • Satara (mid-1943 to 1945)—named "Prati Sarkar", was organised
Extent of Mass Participation-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth, especially the students of schools and colleges, remained in the forefront. • Women, especially school and college girls, actively participated, and included leaders- Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kripalani and Usha Mehta. • Workers went on strikes and faced repression. • Peasants of all strata were at the heart of the movement. Even some zamindars participated. • Government officials, especially those belonging to lower levels in police and administration, participated resulting in erosion of government loyalty. • Muslims helped by giving shelter to underground activists. There were no communal clashes during the movement. • The Communists did not join the movement; in the wake of Russia (where the communists were in power) being attacked by Nazi Germany, the communists began to support the British war against Germany and the 'Imperialist War' became the 'People's War'. • The Muslim League opposed the movement, fearing that if the British left India at that time, the minorities would be oppressed by the Hindus. • The Hindu Mahasabha boycotted the movement. 	

Government Repression	Although martial law was not applied, the repression was severe.
Estimate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Left without leaders, there was no restraint and violence became common. Main storm centres of the movement: eastern United Provinces, Bihar, Midnapore, Maharashtra, Karnataka. Students, workers and peasants were the backbone of the movement while the upper classes and the bureaucracy remained largely loyal. Loyalty to government suffered considerable erosion. Movement established the truth that it was no longer possible to rule India without the wishes of Indians. element of spontaneity was higher than before, although a certain degree of popular initiative had been sanctioned by the leadership itself, subject to limitations of the instructions. Great significance was that the movement placed the demand for independence on the immediate agenda of the national movement. After Quit India, there could be no retreat. In this struggle, the common people displayed unparalleled heroism and militancy. In the face of most brutal repression and circumstances.
Gandhi Fasts	<p>In February 1943, Gandhi started a fast as an answer to an appeal by the government to condemn violence; the fast was directed against the violence of the State. The fast achieved the following—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public morale was raised. Anti-British feeling was heightened. An opportunity was provided for political activity. Government's high-handedness was exposed. Gandhi got the better of his opponents and refused to oblige by dying.
2. Famine of 1943	
Fundamental Causes	<p>The fundamental causes of the famine were as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The need to feed a vast Army diverted foodstuffs. Rice imports from Burma and South-East Asia had been stopped. Aggravated conditions by gross mismanagement and deliberate profiteering; rationing methods were belated and were confined to big cities.
3. Rajagopalachari Formula	
The Formula	<p>Rajagopalachari (CR), the veteran Congress leader, prepared a formula for Congress- League cooperation in 1944. The main points in the CR Plan were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Muslim League to endorse Congress demand for independence. League to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre. After the end of the war, a plebiscite in muslim majority areas to decide whether or not to form a separate sovereign state In case of acceptance of partition, agreement to be made jointly for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications, etc. Above terms to be operative only if England transferred full powers to India.
Objections	Jinnah wanted the Congress to accept the two-nation theory . Hindu leaders led by Vir Savarkar condemned the CR Plan.
4. Desai -Liaqat Pact-	
interim government at the centre	<p>Interim government at the centre consisting of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the central legislature. 20% reserved seats for minorities.
5. Wavell Plan-	
Why the Government was Keen on a Solution Now	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General election in England was scheduled for mid-1945. The Conservatives wanted to be seen as sincere on reaching a solution. There was pressure from the Allies to seek further Indian cooperation in the war. Government wanted to divert Indian energies into channels more profitable for the British.

The Plan	<p>Shimla conference was convened by the viceroy, Lord Wavell, in June 1945. The main proposals of the Wavell Plan were as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the exception of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, all members of the executive council were to be Indians. • Caste Hindus and Muslims were to have equal representation. • Reconstructed council was to function as an interim government within the framework of the 1935 Act (i.e. not responsible to the Central Assembly). • Governor-general was to exercise his veto on the advice of ministers. • Representatives of different parties were to submit a joint list to the viceroy for nominations to the executive council. If not possible, then separate lists were to be submitted. • Possibilities were to be kept open for negotiations on a new constitution once the war was finally won.
Muslim League's Stand	The League claimed some kind of veto in the council with decisions opposed to Muslims needing a two-thirds majority for approval .
Congress Stand	The Congress objected to the plan as "an attempt to reduce the Congress to the status of a purely caste Hindu party and insisted on its right to include members of all communities among its nominees".
Wavell's Mistake-	Wavell announced a breakdown of talks thus giving the League a virtual veto.
6. The Indian National Army and Subhash Bose-	
Origin and First Phase of the Indian National Army-(INA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Idea of creating an army out of the Indian prisoners of war (POWs) was originally that of Mohan Singh The Japanese handed over the Indian prisoners of war to Mohan Singh who tried to recruit them into an Indian National Army. • INA got a boost with the outbreak of the Quit India Movement in India. In September 1942, the first division of the INA was formed with 16,300 men. • The second phase began with the arrival of Subhash Bose in Singapore. But before that in June 1943, Subhash Chandra Bose (under pseudo name Abid Hussain) reached Tokyo; met the Japanese prime minister, Tojo. • In Japan, Rashbehari Bose eventually became a naturalized citizen and founded the Indian Club of Tokyo to give lectures on the evils of Western imperialism. • Subhash Bose became Supreme Commander of the INA on August 25. • On October 21, 1943, Subhash Bose formed the Provisional Government for Free India at Singapore with H.C. Chatterjee (Finance portfolio), M.A. Aiyar (Broadcasting), Lakshmi Swaminathan (Women Department), etc. The famous slogan— "Give me blood, I will give you freedom" was given in Malaya. The INA headquarters was shifted to Rangoon (in Burma) in January 1944, and the army recruits were to march from there with the war cry "Chalo Delhi!" on their lips. • On November 6, 1943, Andaman and Nicobar Islands was given by the Japanese army to the INA which were renamed as Shahid Dweep and Swaraj Dweep respectively. • On July 6, 1944, Subhas Bose addressed Mahatma Gandhi as 'Father of Nation'—from the Azad Hind Radio (the first person to call Gandhi, 'Father of Nation'). • Azad Hind Fauz crossed the Burma border, and stood on Indian soil on March 18, 1944. The INA units subsequently advanced up to Kohima and Imphal. On April 14, Colonel Malik of the Bahadur Group hoisted the INA flag for the first time on the Indian mainland at Moirang, in Manipur (where the INA Memorial Complex stands today) to enthusiastic cries of "Jai Hind" and "Netaji Zindabad". On August 15, 1945 the surrender of Japan in the Second World War took place and with this the INA also surrendered. • On August 18, 1945, reportedly, Subhash Bose died mysteriously in an air-crash at Taipei (Taiwan).

Chapter-24: Post-War National Scenario

1. Two Strands of National Upsurge	Two basic strands of national upsurge can be identified during the last two years of British rule— <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tortuous negotiations involving the government, Congress and Muslim League, increasingly accompanied by communal violence and culminating in freedom and the partition.• Sporadic, localised and often extremely militant and united mass action by workers, peasants and states’ peoples which took the form of a countrywide strike wave. E.g. INA Release Movement, Royal Indian Navy (RIN) revolt, Tebhaga movement, Worli revolt, Punjab Kisan Morchas, Travancore peoples’ struggle (especially the Punnapra-Vayalar episode) and the Telangana peasant revolt.	
Why a Change in Government’s Attitude	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• End of the War resulted in a change in balance of global power—the UK was no more a big power while the USA and USSR emerged as superpowers, both of which favoured freedom for India.• New Labour government was more sympathetic to Indian demands.• Throughout Europe, there was a wave of socialist radical governments.• British soldiers were weary and tired and the British economy lay shattered.• There was an anti-imperialist wave in South-East Asia—in Vietnam and Indonesia—resisting efforts to replant French and Dutch rule there.• Officials feared another Congress revolt, a revival of the 1942 situation but much more dangerous because of a likely combination of attacks on communications, agrarian revolts, labour trouble, army disaffection joined by government officials and the police in the presence of INA men with some military experience.• Elections were inevitable once the war ended since the last elections had been held in 1934 for the Centre and in 1937 for the provinces.	
2. Congress Election Campaign and INA Trials-		
Election Campaign for Nationalistic Aims-	The most significant feature of the election campaign was that it sought to mobilise the Indians against the British by expressing the nationalist sentiments against the state repression of the 1942 Quit India upsurge and glorifying martyrs and condemning officials.	
Congress Support for INA Prisoners	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• At the first post-War Congress session in September 1945 at Bombay, a strong resolution was adopted declaring Congress support for the INA cause.• Defence of INA prisoners in the court was organized by Bhulabhai Desai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Kailash Nath Katju, Jawaharlal Nehru and Asaf Ali.• INA Relief and Enquiry Committee distributed small sums of money and food and helped arrange employment for the affected.• Fund collection was organised.	
The INA Agitation—A Landmark on Many Counts	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Celebrations of INA Day (November 12, 1945) and INA week (November 5-11).• Nerve centres of the agitation were Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, United Provinces towns and Punjab, the campaign spread to distant places such as Coorg, Baluchistan and Assam. The forms of participation included fund contributions made by many people.	
3. Three Upsurges—Winter of 1945-46-		
Three-Stage Pattern-	Stage I	When a Group Defies Authority and is Repressed- <ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ In the first instance of this stage (November 21, 1945), a student procession had joined up with the League and the Congress, tied flags as a symbol of anti-imperialist unity, marched to Dalhousie Square—the seat of government in Calcutta.✓ In the next step (February 11, 1946), the protest was led by Muslim League students in which some Congress and communist students’ organisations joined. Some arrests provoked the students to defy Section 144.✓ Rebellion by Naval Ratings- On February 18, 1946 some 1100 Royal Indian Navy (RIN) ratings of HMIS Talwar went on a strike to protest against racial discrimination, unpalatable food, abuse by superior officers, arrest of a rating for scrawling ‘Quit India’ on HMIS Talwar,

		INA trials and use of Indian troops in Indonesia , demanding their withdrawal.
	Stage II	When the City People Join In -This phase was marked by a virulent anti-British mood resulting in the virtual paralysis of Calcutta and Bombay.
	Stage III	When People in Other Parts of the Country Express Sympathy and Solidarity -While the students boycotted classes and organised hartals and processions to express sympathy with other students and the ratings, there were sympathetic strikes
Evaluation of Potential and Impact of the Three Upsurges	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Fearless action by the masses was an expression of militancy in the popular mind.• Revolt in the armed forces had a great liberating effect on the minds of people.• RIN revolt was seen as an event marking the end of British rule. <p>These upsurges prompted the British to extend some concessions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• On December 1, 1946, the government announced that only those INA members accused of murder or brutal treatment of fellow prisoners would be brought to trial.• Imprisonment sentences passed against the first batch were remitted.• Indian soldiers were withdrawn from Indo-China and Indonesia by February 1947.• Decision to send a parliamentary delegation to India (November 1946) was taken.• Decision to send Cabinet Mission was taken in January 1946.	
Congress Strategy-	The leftists claim that the Congress indifference to the revolutionary situation arose because of two considerations — that the situation would go out of its control and that a disciplined armed force was vital in a free India.	
4. Election Results		
Performance of the Congress	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• It got 91 per cent of non-Muslim votes.• It captured 57 out of 102 seats in the Central Assembly.• In the provincial elections, it got a majority in most provinces except in Bengal, Sindh and Punjab. The Congress majority provinces included the NWFP and Assam which were being claimed for Pakistan.	
Muslim League's Performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• It got 86.6 per cent of the Muslim votes.• It captured the 30 reserved seats in the Central Assembly.• In the provincial elections, it got a majority in Bengal and Sindh.• League clearly established itself as the dominant party among Muslims.• In Punjab a Unionist-Congress-Akali coalition under Khizr Hayat Khan assumed power.	
Significant Features of Elections	Elections witnessed communal voting in contrast to the strong anti- British unity shown in various upsurges due to: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Separate electorates; and• Limited franchise—for the provinces, less than 10 per cent of the population could vote and for the Central Assembly.	
5. The Cabinet Mission		
Why British Withdrawal Seemed Imminent Now	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Success of nationalist forces is evident from the fact that Nationalism had penetrated into hitherto untouched sections and areas.• There was a demonstration in favour of nationalism among the bureaucracy and the loyalist sections; because the paucity of European ICS recruits and a policy of Indianisation had ended the British domination of the ICS and by 1939, there existed British-Indian parity.• British strategy of conciliation and repression had its limitations and contradictions.<ul style="list-style-type: none">a. After the Cripps' Offer there was little left to offer for conciliation except full freedom.b. When non-violent resistance was repressed with force, the naked force behind the government stood exposed, while if the government did not clamp down on 'sedition' or made offers for truce, it was seen to be unable to wield authority, and its prestige suffered.• Constitutionalism or Congress Raj had proved to be a big morale-booster and helped in deeper penetration of patriotic sentiments among the masses.• Demands of leniency for INA prisoners from within the Army and the revolt of the RIN	

	<p>ratings had raised fears that the armed forces may not be as reliable if the Congress started a 1942-type mass movement, this time aided by the provincial ministries.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only alternative to an all-out repression of a mass movement was an entirely official rule which seemed impossible now because the necessary numbers and efficient officials were not available. • Government realised that a settlement was necessary for good future indo-british relations
On the Eve of Cabinet Mission Plan	The Congress demanded that power be transferred to one centre and that minorities' demands be worked out in a framework ranging from autonomy to Muslim- majority provinces to self-determination or secession from the Indian Union—but, only after the British left.
Cabinet Mission Arrives	The Cabinet Mission reached Delhi on March 24, 1946 . It had prolonged discussions with Indian leaders of all parties and groups on the issues of: (i) interim government; and (ii) principles and procedures for framing a new constitution giving freedom to India.
Cabinet Mission Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rejection of the demand for a full-fledged Pakistan, • Grouping of existing provincial assemblies into three sections: Section-A: Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa (Hindu-majority provinces) Section-B: Punjab, North- West Frontier Province and Sindh (Muslim-majority provinces) Section-C: Bengal and Assam (Muslim-majority provinces). • Three-tier executive and legislature at provincial, section and union levels. • A constituent assembly was to be elected by provincial assemblies by proportional representation. This constituent assembly would be a 389-member body. • In the constituent assembly, members from groups A, B and C were to sit separately to decide the constitution for provinces and if possible, for the groups also. Then, the whole constituent assembly would sit together to formulate the union constitution. • A common centre would control defence, communication and external affairs. A federal structure was envisaged for India. • Communal questions in the central legislature were to be decided by a simple majority of both communities present and voting. • Provinces were to have full autonomy and residual powers. • Princely states were no longer to be under paramountcy of the British government. They would be free to enter into an arrangement with successor governments or the British government. • After the first general elections, a province was to be free to come out of a group and after 10 years, a province was to be free to call for a reconsideration of the group or the union constitution. • Meanwhile, an interim government was to be formed from the constituent assembly.
Different Interpretations of the Grouping Clause	<p>Congress: To the Congress, the Cabinet Mission Plan <u>was against the creation of Pakistan since</u> grouping was optional; one constituent assembly was envisaged; and the League no longer had a veto.</p> <p>Muslim League: The Muslim League <u>believed Pakistan to be implied in compulsory grouping.</u></p>
Main Objections	<p>1. Congress</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They should have the option of not joining a group in the first place. Provinces should not have to wait till the first general elections to come out of a group. • Compulsory grouping contradicts provincial autonomy. • Absence of provision for elected members from the princely states in the constituent assembly was not acceptable.
	<p>2. League</p> <p>Grouping should be compulsory with sections B and C developing into solid entities with a view to future secession into Pakistan.</p>
Acceptance and Rejection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Muslim League on June 6 and the Congress on June 24, 1946 accepted the long-term plan put forward by the Cabinet Mission. • July 1946 Elections were held in provincial assemblies for the Constituent Assembly.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> July 10, 1946 Nehru stated, “We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly. The big probability is that there would be no grouping as NWFP and Assam would have objections to joining sections B and C.” July 29, 1946 The League withdrew its acceptance of the long-term plan in response to Nehru’s statement and gave a call for “direct action” from August 16 to achieve Pakistan.
6. Communal Holocaust and the Interim Government	
Changed Government Priorities	Wavell was now keen to somehow get the Congress into the Interim Government , even if the League stayed out
Interim Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fearing mass action by the Congress, a Congress-dominated Interim Government headed by Nehru was sworn in on September 2, 1946. Wavell quietly brought the Muslim League into the Interim Government on October 26, 1946. The League was allowed to join without giving up the ‘direct action’; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> despite its rejection of the Cabinet Mission’s long term and short-term plans; and despite insistence on compulsory grouping with decisions being taken by a majority vote by a section as a whole
Obstructionist Approach and Ulterior Motives of League	The League did not attend the Constituent Assembly which had its first meeting on December 9, 1946. Consequently, the Assembly had to confine itself to passing a general ‘Objectives Resolution’ drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru. In February 1947, nine Congress members of the cabinet wrote to the viceroy demanding the resignation of League members and threatening the withdrawal of their own nominees.
7. Birth and Spread of Communalism in India-	
Characteristic Features of Indian Communalism-	<p>Communalism (more accurately ‘sectarianism’) is basically an ideology, which gives more importance to one’s own ethnic/religious group rather than to the wider society as a whole, evolved through three broad stages in India:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communal Nationalism: the notion that since a group or a section of people belong to a particular religious community, their secular interests are the same, i.e., even those matters which have got nothing to do with religion affect all of them equally. Liberal Communalism: the notion that since two religious communities have different religious interests, they have different interests in the secular sphere also (i.e., in economic, political and cultural spheres). Extreme Communalism: The notions that not only do different religious communities have different interests, but also that these interests are incompatible, i.e., two communities cannot co-exist because the interests of one community come into conflict with those of the other.
Reasons for Growth of Communalism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Socio-economic Reasons British Policy of Divide and Rule Communalism in History Writing Side-effects of Socio-religious Reform Movements-Reform movements such as the Wahabi Movement among Muslims and Shuddhi among Hindus with their militant overtones made the role of religion more vulnerable to communalism. Side-effects of Militant Nationalism Communal Reaction by Majority Community-The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was established in 1925
Evolution of the Two-Nation Theory	<p>The development of the two-nation theory over the years is as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1887: Syed Ahmed Khan appealed to the educated Muslims to stay away from the Congress, although some Muslims did join the Congress. 1906: Agha Khan led a Muslim delegation to demand separate electorates for Muslims at all levels (called the Shimla delegation) to the viceroy, Lord Minto, 1909: Separate electorates were awarded under Morley-Minto Reforms. Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded by U.N. Mukherji and Lal Chand. 1915: First session of All India Hindu Mahasabha was held under the aegis of the Maharaja of Kasim Bazar.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1912-24: During this period, the Muslim League was dominated by younger Muslim nationalists, but their nationalism was inspired by a communal view of political questions. • 1916: The Congress accepted the Muslim League demand of separate electorates and the Congress and the League presented joint demands to the government. • 1920-22: Muslims participated in the Rowlatt and Khilafat Non-Cooperation agitations but there was a communal element in the political outlook of the Muslims. • 1920s: The shadow of communal riots loomed large over the country. • 1928: The Nehru Report on constitutional reforms was opposed by Muslim hardliners and the Sikh League. • 1930-34: Some Muslim groups, such as the Jamaati- ulema-i-Hind, State of Kashmir and Khudai Khidmatgars participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement but overall the participation of Muslims was nowhere attended all three of them. • 1932: The Communal Award accepted all Muslim communal demands contained in the 14 points. • After 1937: After the Muslim League performed badly in the 1937 provincial elections, it decided to resort to extreme communalism.
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Chapter-25: Independence with Partition

1. Attlee's Statement of February 20, 1947	
Main Points of Attlee's Statement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deadline of June 30, 1948 was fixed for transfer of power even if the Indian politicians had not agreed by that time on the constitution. • British would relinquish power either to some form of central government or in some areas to the existing provincial governments if the constituent assembly was not fully representative, i.e., if the Muslim majority provinces did not join. • British powers and obligations in the princely states would lapse with transfer of power, but these would not be transferred to any successor government in British India. • Mountbatten would replace Wavell as the viceroy. • The statement contained clear hints of partition and even Balkanisation of the country into numerous states and was, in essence, a reversion of the Cripps Offer.
Why a Date Fixed by Government for Withdrawal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government hoped that a fixed date would shock the parties into an agreement on the main question. • to avert the developing constitutional crisis. • to convince the Indians of British sincerity. • <u>Truth in Wavell's assessment could no longer be denied that an irreversible decline of the government's authority had taken place.</u>
Congress Stand	Provision of transfer of power to more than one centre was acceptable to Congress because it meant that the existing assembly could go ahead and frame a constitution for the areas represented by it, and it offered a way out of the existing deadlock.
2. Independence and Partition-	
On March 10, 1947,	Nehru stated that the Cabinet Mission's was the best solution if carried out; the only real alternative was the partition of Punjab and Bengal . In April 1947, the Congress president, Kripalani, communicated to the viceroy
Mountbatten as the Viceroy	Mountbatten proved more firm and quick in taking decisions than his predecessors because he was informally given more powers to decide things on the spot. His task was to explore the options of unity and division till October 1947 and then advise the British government on the form of transfer of power.
Mountbatten Plan, June 3, 1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies would meet in two groups, Hindus and Muslims, to vote for partition. If a simple majority of either group voted for partition, then these provinces would be partitioned. • In case of partition, two dominions and two constituent assemblies would be created. • Sindh would take its own decision.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Referendums in NWFP and Sylhet district of Bengal would decide the fate of these areas. • Since the Congress had agreed a unified India, all their other points would be met, namely, <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Independence for princely states ruled out 2) Independence for Bengal ruled out; 3) Accession of Hyderabad to Pakistan ruled out; 4) Freedom to come on August 15, 1947; and 5) A boundary commission to be set up.
Why Congress Accepted Dominion Status?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To ensure a peaceful and quick transfer of power; • It was more important for the Congress to assume authority to check the explosive situation; and • It would allow for some continuity in the bureaucracy and the army.
Rationale for an Early Date (August 15, 1947)	The plan was put into effect without the slightest delay. Britain wanted to secure Congress' agreement to the dominion status. At the same time, the British could escape the responsibility for the communal situation .
Indian Independence Act	<p>On July 5, 1947 the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act based on the Mountbatten Plan, and the Act got royal assent on June 18, 1947.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Act was implemented on August 15, 1947. • Act provided for the creation of two independent dominions of India and Pakistan with effect from August 15, 1947. • As per the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Pakistan became independent on August 14 while India got its freedom on August 15, 1947. • Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan. • India decided to request Lord Mountbatten to continue as the Governor-General of India.
Problems of Early withdrawal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Breakneck speed of events under Mountbatten caused anomalies in arranging the details of partition and totally failed to prevent the Punjab massacre, because • there were no transitional institutional structures within which partition problems could be tackled; • Mountbatten had hoped to be the common Governor- General of India and Pakistan, thus providing the necessary link, but Jinnah wanted the position for himself in Pakistan; • There was a delay in announcing the Boundary Commission Award (under Radcliffe); though the award was ready by August 12, 1947 Mountbatten decided to make it public after August 15 so that the British could escape all responsibility of disturbances.
Integration of States-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In July 1947, Vallabhbhai Patel took charge of the new States Department. Under Patel, the incorporation of Indian states took place in two phases with a skillful combination of baits and threats of mass pressure in both. • Phase I By August 15, 1947, all states except Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagarh had signed an instrument of accession with the Indian government. • Phase II second phase involved a much more difficult process of 'integration' of states with neighbouring provinces or into new units.
3. Inevitability of Partition	
Why Congress Accepted Partition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congress was only accepting the inevitable due to the long-term failure to draw the Muslim masses into the national movement. The Congress had a two fold task—(i) structuring diverse classes, communities, groups and regions into a nation, and (ii) securing independence for this nation. • Only an immediate transfer of power could forestall the spread of 'direct action' and communal violence. The virtual collapse of the Interim Government also made the notion of Pakistan appear unavoidable. • Partition plan ruled out independence for the princely states which could have been a greater danger to Indian unity as it would have meant Balkanisation of the country. • Acceptance of partition was only a final act of the process of step-by-step concessions

	<p>to the League's championing of a separate Muslim state.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> When CWC resolution stated that Punjab (and by implication, Bengal) must be partitioned if the country was divided and with the 3rd June Plan, Congress accepted partition. While loudly asserting the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, the Congress quietly accepted compulsory grouping and accepted the partition most of all because it could not stop the communal riots.
Gandhi's Helplessness	Gandhi felt helpless because there had been a communalization of the people. He had no option but to accept partition because the people wanted it.

Chapter- 26: Constitutional, Administrative and Judicial Developments

1. Constitutional Development between 1773 and 1858-	
1767	The first mediation in Indian affairs by the British government came in 1767 .
1765-72	<p>This period was portrayed by—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> rampant corruption among servants of the Company who utilized private trading to enrich themselves; excessive revenue collection and oppression of peasantry; Company's bankruptcy, while its servants were prospering.
The Regulating Act of 1773	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To control and regulate the functioning of the East India Company, British government's involvement was needed. It recognised that the Company's role in India outstretched from mere trade to administrative and political fields which necessitated centralized administration. Directors of the Company to submit all correspondence regarding revenue affairs and civil and military administration to the government. In Bengal, the administration was held by governor-general and a council consisting of 4 members, representing civil and military government. They were required to function according to the majority rule. A Supreme Court to be established in Bengal with original and appellate jurisdictions where all subjects could look for redressal. In practice, however, the Supreme Court and the council had overlapping jurisdiction. Governor-general could exercise some powers over Bombay and Madras. This created many problems due to its vague nature Amendments (1781)- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Defined the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court—within Calcutta where it was to administer the personal laws. Servants of the government were immune if they did anything while at duty.
Pitt's India Act of 1784	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Company's territories in India were termed 'British possessions'. A Board of Control comprising of the chancellor of exchequer, a secretary of state and a four-membered Privy Council (to be appointed by the Crown) were to exercise control over the Company's civil, military and revenue affairs. All dispatches were to be approved by the board. Thus, creating a dual system of control. In India, the governor-general was to have a council (including the commander-in-chief), and the presidencies of Bombay and Madras were made subordinate to the governor-general. A general prohibition on aggressive wars and treaties (breached often).
The Act of 1786	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cornwallis wanted to have the powers of both the governor-general and the commander-in- chief which was made possible through this Act. He was allowed to override the council's decision if he owned the responsibility for the decision. Later, this provision was extended to all the governors general.

The Charter Act of 1793	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renewal of the Company's commercial privileges for next 20 years. • The Company was to pay 5 lakh pounds annually to the British government after paying the necessary expenses, interest, dividends, salaries, etc., from the Indian revenues. • The royal approval was mandatory for the appointment of the governor-general, the governors, and the commander in- chief. • Without permission, Senior officials of the Company were debarred from leaving India — doing so was treated as resignation. • The Company was empowered to provide licences ('privilege' or 'country trade') to individuals as well as the Company's employees to trade in India paved the way for shipments of opium to China. • Maal Adalats disappeared as the revenue administration was separated from the judiciary functions. • The Home Government members were to be paid out of Indian revenues which continued up to 1919.
The Charter Act of 1813	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Company's monopoly over trade ended, except trade with china and Tea • The Company's shareholders were given a 10.5 per cent dividend on the revenue of India. The Company was to retain the possession of territories and the revenue for 20 years more, without prejudice to the sovereignty of the Crown. • Powers of the Board of Control were further enlarged. • A sum of one lakh rupees was to be set aside for the revival, promotion and encouragement of education in India, every year. • The constitutional position of the British territories in India was thus explicitly defined for the first time as the regulations made by the Councils of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were now required to be laid before the British Parliament. • Separate accounts were to be kept regarding commercial transactions and territorial revenues. The power of superintendence and direction of the Board of Control were enlarged and defined. • Christian missionaries were given permission to come to India and preach their religion.
The Charter Act of 1833	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lease of 20 years to the Company was further extended. Territories of India were to be governed in the name of the Crown. • Company's monopoly over trade with China and in tea also ended. • Lifting of all restrictions on European immigration and the acquisition of property in India. • A law member was added to the governor-general's council for advice on law- making. • Indian laws were to be codified. • No Indian citizen was to be denied employment under the Company on the basis of religion, colour, birth, descent, etc • Administration was urged to take steps to ameliorate the conditions of slaves and to ultimately abolish slavery. (Slavery was abolished in 1843.)
The Charter Act of 1853	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Company was to continue possession of territories unless the Parliament provided otherwise. • Strength of the Court of Directors was reduced to 18. • The services were now thrown open to a competitive examination thus diluting Company's patronage over the services • Law member became the full member of the governor-general's executive council. • separation of the executive and legislative functions of the Government of British India progressed with the inclusion of six additional members for legislative purposes
The Act for Better Government of India, 1858	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India was to be governed by and in the name of the Crown through a secretary of state and a council of 15. The initiative and the final decision taken by secretary of state and the council was just advisory in nature. • Governor-general became the viceroy
2. Developments after 1858 till Independence-	
Indian Councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 1861 Act marked an advance as representatives of non-officials in legislative bodies

Act, 1861	<p>became accepted.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laws were to be made after due deliberation, and also could be changed only by the same deliberative process. • The portfolio system presented by Lord Canning laid the foundations of cabinet government in India. • Laid the foundations of legislative devolution by vesting legislative powers in the Governments of Bombay and Madras and by making provision for the institution of similar legislative councils in other provinces.
Indian Councils Act, 1892	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded which saw council reforms as the “root of all other reforms”. Thus in response to the Congress demand of expansion, the number of non-official members was increased both in the central (Imperial) and provincial legislative councils by the Indian Councils Act, 1892. • Legislative Council of the Governor-General was enlarged. • Introduction of the Principle of Representation as Universities, district boards, municipalities, zamindars, trade bodies and chambers of commerce were empowered to recommend members to the provincial councils. • An element of indirect election was accepted in the selection of some of the non-official members. (the term ‘election’ was strictly avoided in the Act) • Members of the legislatures were now empowered to discuss budget which were henceforth to be made on the floor of the legislatures. • Members of the legislatures can ask questions within prescribed limits to the executive on matters of public interest after giving six days’ notice.
Indian Councils Act, 1909	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Popularly known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, made the first attempt at adding representative and popular element in the governance of the country. • Strength of the Imperial Legislative Council was increased. • With regard to the central government, an Indian member was part of Executive Council of the Governor-General for the first time. • Members of the Provincial Executive Council were increased. • Increased Powers of the legislative councils, both central and provincial.
Government of India Act, 1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Popularly known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. • A bicameral system consisting of a Council of State (Upper House) and a Legislative Assembly (Lower House) was established. Each house was to have a majority of members who were directly elected. So, direct election was introduced, though the franchise was much restricted being based on qualifications of property, tax or education. • Principle of communal representation with separate electorates for Sikhs, Christians and Anglo-Indians, besides Muslims. • Introduced dyarchy in the provinces, which was an important step towards transfer of power to the Indian people. • Provincial legislature was to consist of one house only (legislative council). • Provincial legislatures were authorised to make their own budgets thus separating for the first time the provincial and central budgets • A High Commissioner for India was appointed, with his office in London for six years and whose duty was to look after Indian trade in Europe. • Secretary of State for India now to be paid by the British Exchequer, thus undoing an injustice in the Charter Act of 1793. (earlier paid from the Indian revenue) • Indian leaders for the first time got some administrative experience in a constitutional set-up under this Act.
Simon Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1919 Act had provided that a Royal Commission would be appointed ten years to review the Act. • Three Round Table Conferences were called by the British government for this purpose. • At the end, a White Paper on Constitutional Reforms was published by the British government in March 1933.
Government of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With 451 clauses and 15 schedules it provided for the establishment of an All-India

India Act, 1935	<p>Federation in which Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces and those Indian states which might accede to be united were to be included.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dyarchy was provided for in the Federal Executive. (rejected by the Simon Commission) • Bicameral Federal Legislature—the Council of States and the Federal Legislative Assembly and The Council of States (the Upper House) was to be a permanent body. • Provision for joint sitting in cases of deadlock between the houses. There were to be three subject lists— the Federal Legislative List, the Provincial Legislative List and the Concurrent Legislative List. Residuary, legislative powers were subject to the discretion of the governor-general. • Dyarchy in the provinces was abolished with provincial autonomy. • Provincial legislatures were further expanded. Bicameral legislatures were provided in the six provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam, with other five provinces retaining unicameral legislatures. • Principles of 'communal electorates' and 'weightage' were further extended to depressed classes, women and labour. • Franchise was enlarged bringing around 10% of the total population getting the right to vote. • Act also provided for a Federal Court (which was established in 1937), with original and appellate powers, to interpret the 1935 Act and settle inter-state disputes, but the Privy Council in London was to dominate this court. • India Council of the Secretary of State was abolished. • All-India Federation as visualised in the Act never came into being because of the opposition from different parties of India. The British government decided to introduce the provincial autonomy on April 1, 1937, but the Central government continued to be governed in accordance with the 1919 Act, with minor amendments. The operative part of the Act of 1935 remained in force till August 15, 1947.
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1. Evolution of Civil Services in India

Cornwallis' Role-	<p>Cornwallis (governor-general, 1786-93) was the first to reform and refine civil services in India. He tried to check corruption through—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Increasing the civil servants' salary, 2) Strict enforcement of rules against private trade, 3) Debarring civil servants from taking presents, bribes etc., 4) Promotions through seniority.
Wellesley's Role	<p>In 1800, Wellesley (governor-general, 1798-1805) set up the Fort William College for training of new recruits. In 1806 Wellesley's college was disapproved by the Court of Directors giving way for East India College set up at Haileybury in England to impart two years' training to the recruits.</p>
Charter Act of 1853	<p>The reasons for exclusion of Indians were—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Belief that only the English could serve British interests through administrative services; 2) Belief that the Indians were incapable, untrustworthy and insensitive to the British interests; 3) Fact of high competition among the Europeans themselves for lucrative posts.
Indian Civil Service Act, 1861	<p>The maximum permissible age was gradually reduced from 23 (in 1859) to 22 (in 1860) to 21 (in 1866) and to 19 (1878). In 1863, Satyendra Nath Tagore became the first Indian to qualify for the Indian Civil Service.</p>
Statutory Civil Service	<p>In 1878-79, Lytton introduced the Statutory Civil Service consisting of one-sixth of covenanted posts to be filled by Indians</p>
Congress Demand and Aitchison Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Indian National Congress raised the demand, after it was set up in 1885, for <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ lowering of age limit for recruitment, and ○ Holding the simultaneous examination in India and Britain. • The Aitchison Committee on Public Services (1886), set up by Dufferin, recommended—

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ dropping of the terms 'covenanted' and 'uncovenanted'; ○ new classification of the civil service into <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Imperial Indian Civil Service (examination in England), ▪ Provincial Civil Service (examination in India) and ▪ Subordinate Civil Service (examination in India); and, ○ Raising the age limit to 23. • In 1893, the House of Commons in England passed a resolution supporting holding of simultaneous examination in India and England; but the resolution was never implemented.
Montford Reforms (1919)	The Montford reforms— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommended holding of simultaneous examination in India and England. • Recommended that one-third of recruitments be made in India itself—to be raised annually by 1.5 per cent.
Lee Commission (1924)	The Lee Commission recommended that— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secretary of state should continue to recruit the ICS, the Irrigation branch of the (b) Service of Engineers, the Indian Forest Service, etc.; • Recruitments for the transferred fields made by provincial governments. (education and civil medical service) • Direct recruitment to ICS based on 50:50 parity between the Europeans and the Indians be reached in 15 years; • A Public Service Commission is immediately established.
Government of India Act, 1935	1935 Act recommended the establishment of a Federal Public Service Commission and Provincial Public Service Commission under their spheres.
Evaluation of Civil Services under British Rule-	This was done in mainly two ways: Firstly, the maximum age for appearing at the examination was intentionally reduced from twenty-three in 1859 to nineteen in 1878 under Lytton. Secondly, all key positions of power and authority and those which were well-paid were restricted to the Europeans.
4. Evolution of Police System in Modern India-	
1791	Cornwallis organised the police force by going back to and modernising the old Indian system of thanas (circles) in a district under a daroga (an Indian) and a superintendent of police (SP). 1808 Mayo appointed an SP for each division helped by a number of spies (goyendas).
1860	Recommendations of the Police Commission (1860) led to the Indian Police Act, 1861. The commission recommended— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A system of civil constabulary—maintaining the village set-up in the present form (a village watchman maintained by the village) but in direct connection with the rest of the constabulary. • Inspector-general to be the head in a province, • Deputy inspector-general to be the head in a range, • SP as the head in a district.
1902	The Police Commission recommended the establishment of CID
5. Military Under the British-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prior to the revolt of 1857, there were two separate sets of military forces under the British control, which operated in India. The one known as the Queen's army, were the serving troops on duty in India. The other was the Company's troops—a mixture of European regiments and Native regiments recruited locally from India but with British officers. The Queen's army was part of Crown's military force. • On the whole, the British Indian Army remained a costly military machine.
6. Development of Judiciary in British India-	
Reforms under	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District Diwani Adalats under the collector were established to try civil disputes. These

<p>Warren Hastings (1772-1785)-</p>	<p>adalats had Hindu law applicable for Hindus and the Muslim law for Muslims. The appeals were made to Sadar Diwani Adalat which functioned under a president and two members of the Supreme Council.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District Fauzdari Adalats under an Indian officer assisted by qazis and muftis were set up to try criminal disputes. These adalats also were under the general supervision of the collector. Only Muslim law was administered in Fauzdari Adalats. • Under the Regulating Act of 1773, a Supreme Court was established at Calcutta which was competent to try all British subjects, including Indians and Europeans. It had original and appellate jurisdictions. Often, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court clashed with that of other courts. 		
<p>Reforms under Cornwallis (1786-1793)— Separation of Powers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circuit courts were established at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. These circuit courts had European judges and were to act as courts of appeal for both civil and criminal cases. • Sadar Nizamat Adalat was shifted to Calcutta and was put under the governor-general and members of the Supreme Council assisted by the chief qazi and the chief mufti. The District Diwani Adalat was now designated as the District, City or the Zila Court and placed under a district judge. • The collector was now responsible only for the revenue administration with no magisterial functions. • A hierarchy of civil courts was established (for both Hindu and Muslim laws)— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Munsiff's Court under Indian officers, ◦ Registrar's Court under a European judge, ◦ District Court under the district judge, ◦ King-in-Council for appeals of 5000 pounds and above. • The Cornwallis Code was laid out— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ There was a separation of revenue and justice administration. ◦ European subjects were also brought under jurisdiction. ◦ Government officials were answerable to the civil courts for actions done in their official capacity. 		
<p>Reforms under William Bentinck (1828-1833)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four Circuit Courts were abolished and their functions given to collectors under the supervision of the commissioner of revenue and circuit. • Sadar Diwani Adalat and a Sadar Nizamat Adalat were set up at Allahabad for the convenience of the people of Upper Provinces. • Persian was the official language in courts. Now, the suitor had the option to use Persian or a vernacular language, while in the Supreme Court, English language replaced Persian. • 1833: A Law Commission was set up under Macaulay to codify Indian laws. As a result, a Civil Procedure Code (1859), an Indian Penal Code (1860) and a Criminal Procedure Code (1861) were prepared. 		
<p>Later Developments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1860: It was provided that the Europeans can claim no special privileges except in criminal cases, and no judge of an Indian origin could try them. • 1865: Supreme Court and the Sadar Adalats were merged into three High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. • 1935: Government of India Act provided for a Federal Court (set up in 1937) which could settle disputes between governments and could hear limited appeals from the High Courts. 		
<p>Evaluation</p>	<p>a) Positive Aspects of Judiciary under the British</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rule of law was established. • Codified laws replaced the religious and personal laws of the rulers. • Even European subjects were brought under the jurisdiction, although in criminal cases, they could be tried by European judges only. • Government servants were made answerable to the civil courts 	
	<p>b) The Negative Aspects</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complicated and expensive Judicial system. The rich could manipulate the system. 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was ample scope for false evidence, deceit and chicanery. • Lagging litigation meant delayed justice. • Overburdening of Courts as litigation increased. • Often, the European judges were not familiar with the Indian usage and traditions.
7. Major Changes in Administrative Structure after 1857-	
Genesis of Administrative Changes: New Stage of Colonialism-	There was a renewed upsurge of imperial control and imperialist ideology which was reflected in the reactionary policies during the vice-royalties of Lytton, Dufferin, Lansdowne, Elgin and, above all, Curzon . The changes in the governmental structure and policies in India were to shape the destiny of modern India in many ways.
8. Administration: Central, Provincial, Local-	
Central Government	
A) Act for Better Government of India	Led to transfer of powers to govern India to the British Crown .
B) Indian Councils Act, 1861	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A fifth member, who was to be a jurist, was added to viceroy's executive council. The legislative council so constituted possessed no real powers and was merely advisory in nature. Its weaknesses were as follows— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ It could not discuss important matters, and no financial matters at all without previous approval of the Government. ○ It had no control over the budget. ○ It could not discuss executive action. ○ Final passing of the bill needed the viceroy's approval. ○ Even if approved by the viceroy, the secretary of state could disallow legislation. ○ Indians as non-officials were members of elite sections only—princes, landlords, diwans, etc.—and were not representative of the Indian opinion. • Viceroy could issue ordinances (of 6 months validity) in case of emergency.
Provincial Government	The Indian Councils Act, 1861 returned the legislative powers to provinces of Madras and Bombay which had been taken away in 1833.
Local Bodies	<p>There were many reasons which made it necessary for the British government in India to establish local bodies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial difficulties faced by the Government due to over centralization. • Considering India's increasing economic contacts with Europe, it became necessary that modern advances in civic amenities in Europe be brought to India. • Rising tide of nationalism asked for improvement in basic facilities. • A section of British policy-makers saw bringing Indians into administration at this level can check the increasing politicisation of Indians without undermining the British supremacy in India. • Utilisation of local taxes for local welfare could be used to counter any public criticism of British reluctance of less devolution of funds. •
Important stages in the evolution of local government can be identified as follows-	
a) Between 1864 and 1868	Formation of Local bodies for the first time.
b) Mayo's Resolution of 1870-	Financial devolution by the Indian Councils Act of 1861 . Apart from the annual grant from imperial Government, the provincial governments were authorised to resort to local taxation to balance their budgets.
c) Ripon's Resolution of 1882	<p>Lord Ripon is called father of local self-government in India. The main points of the resolution were as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of local bodies so as to improve the administration and as an instrument of

	<p>political and popular education;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy of administrating local affairs through urban and rural local bodies charged with definite duties and entrusted with suitable sources of revenues; • Non-officials to be in majority in these bodies if the officials thought that it was possible to introduce elections they could be elected; • Non-officials to act as chairpersons to these bodies; • Official interference to be reduced to the minimum and to be exercised to revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not to dictate policies; • Official executive sanction required in certain cases, such as raising of loans, alienation of municipal property, imposition of new taxes, undertaking works costing more than a prescribed sum, framing rules and bye-laws, etc. <p>The existing local bodies had various drawbacks:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Elected members were in a minority in all district boards and in many of the municipalities; 2) Limited Franchise; 3) District boards continued to be headed by district officials, though non-officials gradually came to head the municipalities; 4) Government retained strict control with suspension of these bodies at will.
d) Royal Commission on Decentralisation (1908)	<p>The commission made the following recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village panchayats were entrusted with more powers like judicial jurisdiction in petty cases, incurring expenditure on minor village works, village schools, small fuel and fodder reserves, etc. The panchayats should be given adequate sources of income. • It emphasised separate spheres of duties and separate sources of revenue for subdistrict boards and the district boards by establishing sub-district boards in every taluka or tehsil. • It urged the withdrawal of existing restrictions on their powers of taxation, and also, the stoppage of regular grants-in-aid from provincial governments except for undertaking large projects. • Municipalities may be responsible for primary education and, if willing for middle vernacular schools, otherwise the Government should relieve them of any charges in regard to secondary education, hospitals, relief, police, veterinary works, etc.
e) The Government of India Resolution of 1915	This resolution contained the official views on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission.
f) The Resolution of May 1918-	This resolution reviewed the entire question of local self-government in the light of the announcement of August 20, 1917
g) Under Dyarchy	Local self-government was made a 'transferred' subject under popular ministerial control by Government of India Act, 1919, and each province was allowed to develop local self-institutions according to their own needs and requirements.
h) The Government of India Act, 1935 and After	The provincial autonomy gave further impetus to the development of local self-governing institutions in India.

Chapter-27: Survey of British Policies in India

1. Administrative Policies	
Divide and Rule	British rulers in India decided to practice a naked policy of divide and rule in order to avoid a united mass action that could topple the government.
Hostility Towards	At a time when the nationalist movement was born (Indian National Congress was founded in 1885), the British saw it as a challenge to their authority and adopted an adverse attitude to

Educated Indians	such leadership.
Attitude Towards the Zamindars	To expand their social base in India, the British looked for alliances with the princes, zamindars, etc. who were as repressive as they were to be.
Attitude Towards Social Reforms	Having decided to side with the reactionary elements of Indian society, the British withdrew support to social reforms.
Underdeveloped Social Services	A disproportionately large expense on maintaining large army and civil administration and the cost of wars left little to be spent on social services.
Labour Legislations	<p>The Indian Factory Act, 1881 dealt primarily with the problem of child labour (between 7 and 12 years of age). Its significant provisions were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • employment of children under 7 years of age prohibited, • working hours restricted to 9 hours per day for children, • children to get four holidays in a month, • Hazardous machinery to be properly fenced off. <p>The Indian Factory Act, 1891</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased the minimum age (from 7 to 9 years) and the maximum (from 12 to 14 years) for children • reduced working hours for children to 7 hours a day • fixed maximum working hours for women at 11 hours per day with a one-and-a-half-hour interval (working hours for men were left unregulated), • Provided weekly holiday for all.
Restrictions on Freedom of the Press	Influence of the nationalist press on public opinion was increasing during the time of Lytton. Thus, he imposed restrictions on Indian language press through the infamous Vernacular Press Act, 1878. This Act had to be repealed under public protest in 1882.
White Racism	The notion of white superiority was nurtured very carefully by the colonial rulers by systematically excluding the Indians from higher grades of services—both civil and military.
2. British Social and Cultural Policy in India-	
Characteristics of New Thought	Salient features of the new wave of thought were— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rationalism which advocated faith in reason and a scientific attitude. • Humanism gave rise to liberalism, socialism and individualism. • Doctrine of Progress stated that nothing is static and all societies must change with time.
Schools of Thought	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservatives were not in favour of any changes. • Paternalistic Imperialists were sharply critical of Indian society and culture and used it to justify economic and political enslavement of India. • Radicals went beyond the narrow criticism and imperialistic outlook of the Conservatives and the Imperialists and applied advanced humanistic and rational thought to the Indian situation.
Indian Renaissance-	Rise of Indian Intellectuals who instigated social reform and caused legislations to be brought about in order to eradicate social evils imbedded in the society in the name of tradition.
Dilemma Before the Government	Against rising intellectuals were the large section of general population which turned hostile towards the government for any kind of social reform.
Role of Christian Missionaries-	<p>The missionaries citing Christianity to be a superior religion spread it in India through westernization. Towards this end, the Christian missionaries-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supported the Radicals whose scientific approach may undermine the native culture and beliefs; • supported the Imperialists the British supremacy were essential for their propaganda as

	<p>they were the makers of law and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sought business and the capitalist support holding out the hope to them that the Christian converts would be better customers of their goods.
British Retreat	The Indians proved to be apt pupils and shifted rapidly towards modernisation of their society and assertion of their culture.
3. British Policy Towards Princely States-	Queen adopted the title of Kaiser-i- Hind (Queen Empress of India) in 1876, to emphasise British sovereignty over entire India which led to complete Subordination of princely states to British authority.
4. British Foreign Policy in India-	<p>Pursuance of a foreign policy led to India's conflicts with neighbouring countries. These conflicts arose due to various reasons.</p> <p>Firstly, political and administrative consolidation of the country.</p> <p>Secondly, the British Government had as its major aims in Asia and Africa—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • protection of the invaluable Indian empire; • expansion of British commercial and economic interests; • Keeping other European imperialist powers, whose colonial interests came in conflict with those of the British, at an arm's length in Asia and Africa.

Chapter-28: Economic Impact of British Rule in India

1. De-industrialisation—Ruin of Artisans and Handicraftsmen	
One-Way Free Trade	After the Charter Act of 1813 which allowed one-way free trade for the British citizens cheap machine-made imports flooded the Indian market. Tariffs as high as nearly 80 per cent were imposed on Indian textiles so that Indian cloth become costlier.
No Steps towards Modern Industrialisation	The loss of traditional livelihood was accompanied by a process of de-industrialisation in India
Ruralisation-	The process of de-industrialisation led to the decline of many cities and a process of ruralisation of India.
2. Impoverishment of Peasantry	Transferability of land was one feature of the new settlement which caused great insecurity to the tenants who lost all their traditional rights in land. The ultimate sufferer was the peasants repressed under the triple burden of the Government, zamindar and moneylender.
3. Emergence of Intermediaries, Absentee Landlordism, Ruin of Old Zamindars	The new zamindars, with increased powers but little scope of investments, resorted to land grabbing and sub-infeudation. This led to increase in number of intermediaries to be paid giving rise to absentee landlordism and increased the burden on the peasant.
4. Stagnation and Deterioration of Agriculture	The peasants had neither the means nor any incentive to invest in agriculture.
5. Famine and Poverty	Regular & recurrent famines became a common feature of daily existence in India owing to lack of investments.
6. Commercialisation of Indian Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commercial crops like cotton, jute, groundnut, oilseeds, sugarcane, tobacco, etc., being more remunerative than food grains were grown at large scale. • Again, the cultivation of crops like condiments, spices, fruits and vegetables could cater to a wider market saw increased cultivation neglecting food grains. • The commercialisation trend was the highest in the plantation sector, i.e., in tea, coffee, rubber, indigo, etc., because it was mostly owned by Europeans and

	the produce was for sale in a wider world market.
7. Destruction of Industry and Late Development of Modern Industry	<p>Indian industry was being steadily destroyed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The destruction of much famed textile competition of India is a glaring example. A thriving ship-building industry crashed. Surat and Malabar on the western coast and Bengal and Masulipatnam on the eastern coast once known for their ship-building industries became trading ports. Indian traders, moneylenders and bankers had amassed some wealth as junior partners of English merchant capitalists in India. Their role fitted in the British scheme of colonial exploitation. The Indian moneylender provided loans to hardpressed agriculturists and thus facilitated the state collection of revenue. <p>Late development of modern industry:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1853: The first cotton textile mill was set up in Bombay by Cowasjee Nanabhoy. In 1855: the first jute mill came up in Rishra (Bengal). The industrial development was characterised by a lopsided pattern as core and heavy industries and power generation were neglected. Some regions were favoured more than the others which regional disparities.
8. Nationalist Critique of Colonial Economy	
British Policies Making India Poor-	The problem of poverty can be seen as a problem of raising productive capacity and energy of the people or as a problem of national development. Thus, poverty became a national issue.
Growth of Trade and Railways to Help Britain	The development of railways was to suit the imperialist needs ushering in commercial revolution and not industrial revolution.
One-Way Free Trade and Tariff Policy	Indian handicrafts industry was exposed to premature, unequal and unfair competition by one-way free trade and tariff policy which favoured cheaper import and ruined Indian handicrafts industry
Effect of Economic Drain	<p>According to nationalists, the extent of economic drain at that time was—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> more than the total land revenue, or half the total government revenue, or one third of the total savings
9. Economic Issue a Stimulant to National Unrest	
The nationalist agitation on economic issues served to undermine the ideological hegemony of alien rulers over Indian minds that the British rule was in the interest of Indians, thus exposing the myth of its moral foundations.	
10. Stages of Colonialism in India	
First Stage (1757-1813)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Period of Merchant Capital (Mercantilism), often described as the Period of Monopoly Trade and Direct plunder (or the Period of East India Company's Domination, was based on two basic objectives— (i) to acquire a monopoly of trade with India (ii) to directly appropriate or take over governmental revenues through control over State power. The only changes made were: (i) efficient military organisation and technology which native rulers were also introducing in their armed forces, and (ii) smooth administration at top of the structure for revenue collection. In this phase there was large scale drain of wealth from India constituting 2-3 % of Britain's national income at the time.
Second Stage	<p>This stage is also termed as Colonialism of Free Trade. In this phase the following dominant features were visible:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> India's colonial economy was well integrated with the British and world economy. Free entry was also granted to the British capitalists in tea, coffee and indigo plantations, trade, transport, mining and modern industries in India. The Permanent Settlement and the Ryotwari system in agriculture were introduced.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More comprehensive Administration including villages and outlying areas of the country. • Personal law was largely left untouched as it has no impact on colonial transformation of the economy. • Modern education was introduced and developed for two reasons: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) create an overall atmosphere of change and development and, (b) give birth to a culture of loyalty to the rulers, (c) to provide cheap manpower to comprehensive administration. • The taxation and the burden on peasant rose sharply. • India absorbed 10 to 12 per cent of British exports and nearly 20 per cent of Britain's textile exports. • Indian army was used for British expansion of colonialism in Asia and Africa.
Third Stage	<p>The third stage is known as the Era of Foreign Investments and International Competition for Colonies. The changes were as follows.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Britain's industrial supremacy was challenged by several countries emerging as new imperialists- the United States and Japan. • With the application of scientific knowledge to industry, the pace of industrialisation increased sharply. <p>The British thus tried to justify their rule over Indians for centuries to come</p>

Chapter-29: Development of Indian Press

1. Early Regulations	
a) Censorship of Press Act, 1799	Lord Wellesley anticipating French invasion of India enacted the act imposing almost wartime press restrictions including pre-censorship.
b) Licensing Regulations, 1823	The acting governor-general, John Adams , enacted these. According to these regulations, starting or using a press without licence was a penal offence . e.g. Rammohan Roy's Mirat-ul-Akbar had to stop publication.
c) Press Act of 1835 or Metcalfe Act	Metcalfe (governor-general—1835-36) repealed the obnoxious 1823 ordinance . The new Press Act (1835) required a printer/publisher to give a precise account of premises of a publication.
d) Licensing Act, 1857	Due to the emergency caused by the 1857 revolt, this Act imposed licensing restrictions
e) Registration Act, 1867	This replaced Metcalfe's Act of 1835 and was of a regulatory in nature . As per the Act, (i) every book/ newspaper was required to print the name of the printer and the publisher and the place of the publication (ii) a copy was to be submitted to the local government within one month of the publication of a book.
2. Struggle by Early Nationalists to Secure Press Freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raja Rammohan Roy had protested against a resolution restricting the freedom of the press. • The Hindu and Swadesamitran - G. Subramaniya Aiyar, • The Bengalee -Surendranath Banerjea • Voice of India-Dadabhai Naoroji, • Amrita Bazar Patrika -Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, • Indian Mirror -N.N. Sen, • Kesari (in Marathi) and Maharatta (in English)- Balgangadhar Tilak, • Sudharak - Gopal Krishna Gokhale, • Hindustan and Advocate - G.P. Verma. • Tribune and Akbhar-i-am in Punjab,

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gujarati, Indu Prakash, Dhyan Prakash and Kal in Bombay • Som Prakash, Banganivasi and Sadharani in Bengal.
3. Vernacular Press Act, 1878	<p>The Vernacular Press Act (VPA) was designed to 'better control' the vernacular press and effectively punish and repress seditious writing. The provisions of the Act included the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The district magistrate was authorized to call upon the printer and publisher of any vernacular newspaper to enter into a bond with the government undertaking not to cause disaffection against the government; the printer and publisher could also be required to deposit security which could be forfeited if the regulation were flouted, and press equipment could be seized if the offence is repeated. 2) The magistrate's action was ultimate and no appeal could be made in a court of law. 3) A vernacular newspaper could get exemption from the operation of the Act by submitting proofs to a government censor. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Act was nicknamed as "the gagging Act". The worst features of this Act were—(i) discrimination between English and vernacular press, (ii) no right of appeal • In 1883, Surendranath Banerjee became the first Indian journalist to be imprisoned. • Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908 Aimed against Extremist nationalist activity, the Act empowered the magistrates to confiscate press property which published objectionable material. • Indian Press Act, 1910 This Act revived the worst features of the VPA—local government was vested to demand a security at registration from the printer/publisher and forfeit/deregister if it was an offending newspaper, and the printer of a newspaper was required to submit two copies of each issue to local government free of charge.
4. During and After the First World War-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1921, on the recommendations of a Press Committee chaired by Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910 were repealed. • Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 gave sweeping powers to provincial governments to suppress propaganda for Civil Disobedience Movement.
5. During the Second World War	Under the Defence of India Rules , pre-censorship was imposed and amendments made in Press Emergency Act and Official Secrets Act.

Chapter-30: Development of Education

1. Under Company Rule-	
A Humble beginning by Charter Act of 1813	Efforts of enlightened Indians such as Raja Rammohan Roy bore fruit and a grant was sanctioned for Calcutta College set up in 1817 by educated Bengalis, imparting English education in Western humanities and sciences. The government also set up three Sanskrit colleges at Calcutta, Delhi and Agra.
Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within the General Committee on Public Instruction, the Anglicists argued that the government spending on education should be exclusively for modern studies. The Orientalists said emphasis should be placed on expansion of traditional Indian learning. • British planned to educate a small section of upper and middle classes, thus creating a class. • "Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" who would act as interpreters between the government and masses and would enrich the vernaculars by which knowledge of Western sciences and literature would reach the masses. This was called the 'downward filtration theory'.
Efforts of	James Thomson, lieutenant-governor of NW Provinces (1843- 53), developed a

Thomson	comprehensive scheme of village education through the medium of vernacular languages.
Wood's Despatch (1854)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It asked the government of India to assume responsibility for education of the masses, thus repudiating the 'downward filtration theory', at least on paper. It systematised the hierarchy from vernacular primary schools in villages at bottom, followed by Anglo-Vernacular High Schools and an affiliated college at the district level, and affiliating universities in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It recommended English as the medium of instruction for higher studies and vernaculars at school level. It laid stress on female and vocational education, and on teachers' training. It laid down that the education imparted in government institutions should be secular. It recommended a system of grants-in-aid to encourage private enterprise.
Developments	In 1857, universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were set up and later, departments of education were set up in all provinces. The Bethune School founded by J.E.D. Bethune at Calcutta (1849) was the first fruit of a powerful movement for education of women which arose in 1840s and 1850s.
2. After the Crown Took Over	
Hunter Education Commission (1882-83)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasised that state's special care is required for extension and improvement of primary education, which should be imparted through vernacular. Recommended transfer of control of primary education to newly set up district and municipal boards. Recommended that secondary (High School) education should have two divisions— <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Literary— leading up to university. Vocational— for commercial careers. Drew attention to inadequate facilities for female education, especially outside presidency towns and made recommendations for its spread. More teaching-cum-examining universities were set up like the Punjab University (1882) and the Allahabad University (1887).
Indian Universities Act, 1904	<p>In 1902, Raleigh Commission was set up to go into conditions and prospects of universities in India and based on its recommendations, the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904. As per the Act:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> universities were to give more attention to study and research; number of fellows of a university and their period in office were reduced and most fellows were to be nominated by the Government; Government was to have powers to veto or amend universities' senate regulations Stricter affiliation of private colleges; and Five lakh rupees were to be sanctioned per annum for five years for improvement of higher education and universities.
Government Resolution on Education Policy—1913	In 1906, the progressive state of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education throughout its territories. In its 1913 Resolution on Education Policy , the government accepted the policy of removal of illiteracy (instead of taking up the responsibility of compulsory education) and urged provincial governments to take steps to provide free elementary education.
Saddler University Commission (1917-19)	<p>The commission was set up to study and report on problems of Calcutta University but its recommendations were applicable more or less to other universities also. Its observations were as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School course should cover 12 years. Students should enter university after an intermediate stage (rather than matric) for a three-year degree course in university. This was done to <ol style="list-style-type: none"> prepare students for university stage;

	2) relieve universities of a large number of below university standard students; and 3) Provide collegiate education to those not planning to go through university stage. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There should be less rigidity in framing university regulations. • A university should function as centralised, unitary residential-teaching autonomous body. • Female education, applied scientific and technological education, teachers' training including those for professional and vocational colleges should be extended.
Education Under Dyarchy	Under Montagu-Chelmsford reforms education was shifted to provincial ministries and the government stopped taking direct interest in educational matters
Hartog Committee (1929)-	Its main recommendations were as follows- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis should be given to primary education • Only deserving students should go in for high school and intermediate stage, diverting average students after VIII standard to vocational courses. • Admissions should be restricted to improve standards of university education.
Sergeant Plan of Education	The Sergeant Plan (Sergeant was the educational advisor to the Government) was worked out by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1944. It recommended— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free and universal pre-primary education for 3-6 years age group; • compulsory elementary education for 6-11 years age group; • high school education for 11- 17 years age group for selected children, and a university course of 3 years after higher secondary; high schools to be of two types: (i) academic and (ii) technical and vocational. • Adequate technical, commercial and arts education. • Abolition of intermediate course. • Liquidation of adult illiteracy in 20 years. • Stress on teachers' training, physical education, education for the physically and mentally handicapped.
3. Development of Vernacular Education-	
1835, 1836, 1838	William Adam's reports on vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar pointed out defects in the system of vernacular education.
1843-53:	James Jonathan's experiments in North-West Provinces (UP), included opening one government school as model school in each tehsildari and a normal school for teachers' training for vernacular schools.
1853 :	In a famous minute, Lord Dalhousie expressed strong opinion in favour of vernacular education.
1854 :	Wood's Despatch made the following provisions for vernacular education: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Improvement of standards 2) Supervision by government agency 3) Normal schools to train teachers
1854-71	The government paid some attention to secondary and vernacular education. The number of vernacular schools increased by more than five-fold.
1882	The Hunter Commission held that State should make special efforts for extension and improvement of vernacular education. Mass education was to be seen as instructing masses through vernaculars.
1904	Education policy put special emphasis and increased grants for vernacular education.
1929	Hartog Committee presented a gloomy picture of primary education.
1937	These schools received encouragement from Congress ministries
4. Development of Technical Education	Engineering College at Roorkee was set up in 1847, Calcutta College of Engineering came up in 1856.
5. Evaluation of British Policy on Education-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The inadequate government measures for promotion of education were influenced by— <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) agitation in favour of modern education by enlightened Indians, Christian missionaries and humanitarian officials;

	<p>2) need to ensure a cheap supply of educated Indians to man an increasing number of subordinate posts in administration.</p> <p>3) hope to expand market for British manufactures in India;</p> <p>4) An expectation that Western education would reconcile Indians to British rule, as it glorified British conquerors and their administration.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional system of Indian learning gradually declined • Mass education was neglected leading to widespread illiteracy (1911—84 per cent and in 1921—92 per cent) • monopoly of upper and richer classes and city dwellers in education as it was an expensive affair. • There was an almost total neglect of women's education because (i) the Government did not want to arouse wrath of orthodox sections; and (ii) it had no immediate utility for the colonial rule. • Scientific and technical education was by and large neglected.
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Chapter-31: Peasant Movements 1857-1947

1. Peasantry Under Colonialism	Peasants suffered from high rents, illegal levies, arbitrary evictions and unpaid labour in zamindari areas. In Ryotwari areas, the government itself levied heavy land revenue.
2. A Survey of Early Peasant Movements	
Indigo Revolt (1859-60)-	Anger of the peasants exploded in 1859 when, led by Digambar Biswas and Bishnu Biswas of Nadia district, they decided not to grow indigo under duress and resisted the physical pressure of the planters and their lathiyals (retainers) backed by police and the courts.
Pabna Agrarian Leagues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large parts of Eastern Bengal witnessed agrarian unrest caused by oppressive practices of the zamindars. • Zamindars resorted to enhanced rents beyond legal limits and prevented the tenants from acquiring occupancy rights under Act X of 1859.
Deccan Riots-	Ryots of Deccan region of western India suffered heavy taxation under the Ryotwari system. The conditions had worsened due to a crash in cotton prices after the end of the American Civil War in 1864, the Government's decision to raise the land revenue by 50% in 1867, and a succession of bad harvests.
3. Changed Nature of Peasant Movements after 1857	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peasants emerged as the main force in agrarian movements, fighting directly for their own demands. • Demands were centred almost wholly on economic issues. • Movements were directed against the immediate enemies of the peasant—foreign planters and indigenous zamindars and moneylenders. (not British rule) • Struggles were directed towards specific and limited objectives and redressal of particular grievances. • Colonialism was not the target of these movements. • Limited territorial reach • There was no continuity of struggle or long-term organisation. • Peasants developed a strong awareness of their legal rights and asserted them in and outside the courts.
4. Weaknesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lack of an adequate understanding of colonialism. • 19th-century peasants did not possess a new ideology and a new social, economic and political programme. • These struggles, however militant, occurred within the framework of the old societal order lacking a positive conception of an alternative society.
5. Later Movements	
The Kisan Sabha Movement-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was set up in 1918 by Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Narayan Dwivedi. Districts of Rai Bareilly, Faizabad and Sultanpur. • Movement declined soon, partly due to government repression and partly because of the passing of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act.

Eka Movement	a) Issues involved were:	1. high rents —50 per cent higher than the recorded rates; 2. oppression of thikadars in charge of revenue collection; and 3. Practice of share-rents.
	b) Unity Movement	involved a symbolic religious ritual in which the assembled peasants vowed that they would <ul style="list-style-type: none">• pay only the recorded rent on time;• not leave when evicted;• refuse to do forced labour;• give no help to criminals;• Abide by panchayat decisions.
Mappila Revolt	Mappilas were the Muslim tenants inhabiting the Malabar region. The communalisation of the rebellion led to the isolation of the Mappilas from the Khilafat-Non- Cooperation Movement. By December 1921, all resistance had come to a stop.	
Bardoli Satyagraha	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bardoli taluqa in Surat district had witnessed intense politicisation after the coming of Gandhi on the national political scene.• Movement sparked off in January 1926 against the increase of the land revenue by 30 per cent.• Women of Bardoli gave Vallabhbhai Patel the title of “Sardar”. In February 1926, Vallabhbhai Patel was called to lead the movement.	
The All India Kisan Congress/Sabha	This sabha was founded in Lucknow in April 1936 with Swami Sahjanand Saraswati as the president and N.G. Ranga as the general secretary.	
Under Congress Ministries-	The period 1937-39 was the high watermark of the peasant movements and activity under the Congress provincial rule.	
6. Peasant Activity in Provinces		
Kerala	Movement in 1938 for the amendment of the Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929.	
Andhra	This region had already witnessed a decline in the prestige of zamindars after their defeat by Congressmen in elections and Anti-zamindar movements.	
Bihar	Provincial Kisan Sabha developed a rift with the Congress over the ‘ bakasht land ’ issue because of an unfavourable government resolution which was not acceptable to the sabha. The movement died out by August 1939.	
Punjab-	A new direction to the movement was given by the Punjab Kisan Committee in 1937. Their main targets were the landlords of western Punjab who dominated the unionist ministry. Peasant activity was also organised in Bengal (Burdwan and 24 Parganas), Assam (Surma Valley), Orissa, Central Provinces and NWFP.	
During the War	Because of a pro-War line adopted by the communists, the AIKS was split on communist and non-communist lines	
Post-War Phase	a) Tebhaga Movement	Storm centre of the movement was north Bengal , principally among Rajbanshis —a low caste of tribal origin. Muslims also participated in large numbers.
	b)Telangana Movement	This was the biggest peasant guerrilla war of modern Indian history affecting 3000 villages and 3 million populations. Its achievements: <ul style="list-style-type: none">i. vethi and forced labour disappeared.ii. Agricultural wages were raised.iii. Illegally seized lands were restored.iv. Steps were taken to fix ceilings and redistribute lands.v. Measures were taken to improve irrigation and fight cholera.vi. An improvement in the condition of women was witnessed.
	The autocratic-feudal regime of India’s biggest princely state was shaken up, clearing the way for the formation of Andhra Pradesh on linguistic lines.	
7. Balance-Sheet of Peasant Movements	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• These movements created an atmosphere for post-independence agrarian reforms. (abolition of zamindari).• They eroded the power of the landed class, thus transforming agrarian structure.• These movements were based on the ideology of nationalism.	

Chapter-32: The Movement of the Working Class

1. Early Efforts	
Early nationalists, especially the Moderates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Were indifferent to the labour's cause; Differentiated between the labour in the Indian owned factories and those in the British-owned factories; Opposed labour legislations as they believed that it would affect the competitive edge enjoyed by the Indian-owned industries; Did not want a division in the movement on the basis of classes; Did not support the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891 for these reasons.
1870	Sasipada Banerjee started a workingmen's club and newspaper Bharat Shramjeevi
1878	Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengalee tried to get a bill, providing better working conditions to labour, passed in the Bombay Legislative Council.
1880	Narain Meghajee Lokhanday started the newspaper Deenbandhu and set up the Bombay Mill and Millhands Association .
1899	The first strike by the Great Indian Peninsular Railways took place, and it got widespread support. Tilak's Kesari and Maharatta had been campaigning for the strike for months.
2. During Swadeshi Upsurge	Workers participated in wider political issues.
3. During the First World War and After-	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The AITUC-The All India Trade Union Congress was founded on October 31, 1920. Lajpat Rai was the first to link capitalism with imperialism. The Trade Union Act, 1926- The Trade Union Act, 1926 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Recognised trade unions as legal associations; Laid down conditions for registration and regulation of trade union activities; Secured immunity, both civil and criminal, for trade unions from prosecution for legitimate activities, but put some restrictions on their political activities. Late 1920s-The TDA, 1929 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Made compulsory the appointment of Courts of Inquiry and Consultation Boards for settling industrial disputes; Made illegal the strikes in public utility services like posts, railways, water and electricity, unless each individual worker planning to go on strike gave an advance notice of one month to the administration; Forbade trade union activity of coercive or purely political nature and even sympathetic strikes. Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929) Under Congress Ministries- During the 1937 elections, the AITUC had supported the Congress candidates.
4. During and After the Second World War	Initially, the workers opposed the War but after 1941 until Russia joined the war on behalf of the Allies
5. After Independence	The working-class movement got polarised on the basis of political ideologies.

Chapter-33: Challenges Before the New-born Nation

1. First Day of Independent India-	<p>On August 15, 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, as Prime Minister of India, hoisted the Indian national flag above the Lahori Gate of Red Fort in Delhi.</p> <p>First Cabinet After Independence-Independent India, however, had to face several challenges-</p> <p>Immediate Challenges: Integration of princely states, communal riots, rehabilitation of refugees, protection of Muslims living in India as well as those going to Pakistan from communal gangs, avoid war with Pakistan, Communist insurgency, etc.</p> <p>Medium Term Challenges: framing of the Constitution, building of a representative, democratic and civil libertarian political order, elections, and abolition of feudal set up in agriculture, etc.</p> <p>Long Term Challenges: national integration, economic development, poverty alleviation,</p>
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	<p>etc.</p> <p>Independence Act had laid the procedure for the resolution of three major problems—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The settlement of boundaries; • The division of apparatus and personnel of Indian Civil Services and some other services • Division of military assets and formations.
2. Radcliffe's Boundary Award and the Communal Riots	<p>West Punjab which went to Pakistan received 62,000 square miles of territory and 15.7 million people (census 1941), of whom 11.85 million were Muslims. (Numbers not important, just analyze number yourself only)</p> <p>East Punjab (India's share) received 37,000 square miles of land area, with a population of 12.6 million, of whom 4.37 million were Muslims.</p> <p>West Bengal became part of India with a territory of 28,000 square miles, and a population of 21.2 million, of whom 5.3 million were Muslims</p>
Challenges before the Boundary Commission	Boundary Commission consisted of two Muslims and two non-Muslim judges in each case and worked under serious constraints.
Regions Most Affected by Riots	Regions through which the Radcliffe line was drawn (Delhi, Bihar, United Province) became most violent and maximum number of murders, rapes and abduction of women and children took place.
3. Challenges Associated with Division of Resources-	
Division of Civil Government	To resolve the division of civil government amicably, a partition council, presided over by the governor-general and consisting of two representatives each of India and Pakistan, was set up. All civil servants were offered to give their option about the Dominion they wanted to serve.
Division of Finances	Pakistan wanted a one-fourth share of the total cash balances, but India had to point out that only a small portion of the cash balances represented the real cash needs of the undivided India and the rest was maintained only as an anti-inflationary mechanism.
Division of Defence Personnel and Equipment	For a smooth division of the armed forces and their plants, machinery, equipment and stores, a joint defence council, headed by Auchinleck as its Supreme Commander, was set up. the British troops started to leave India from August 17, 1947 and the process was completed by February 1948.
4. Assassination of Gandhi	On the evening of January 30, 1948, as he carried on his usual prayer meeting at Birla mansion (New Delhi) , Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead by Nathuram Godse . Communalism and misinterpretation of nationalism were two fundamental factors under whose influence Godse killed Gandhi.
5. Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Refugees	
East Punjab	For urban refugees , the government started industrial and vocational training schemes , and even grants were given to start small businesses or industries. rural refugees were given land, agricultural loans and housing subsidies.
Bengal	A much more prolonged and complicated problem in Bengal.
Delhi Pact on Minorities	To resolve the problems of refugees and restore communal peace in the two countries, especially in Bengal (East Pakistan as well as West Bengal), the Indian prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Pakistani prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, signed an agreement on April 8, 1950 - known as the Delhi Pact on Minorities or Liaquat- Nehru Pact . It envisaged the appointment of ministers from minority communities in both Pakistan and India at both central and provincial levels. Also, minority commissions were to be set up, together with the Commissions of Inquiry to look into the probable causes behind the communal riots on both sides of border.
Centres of Refugee Settlements in India	In Delhi, Lajpat Nagar, Rajinder Nagar (All coaching wala shop here), Punjabi Bagh, Nizamuddin East and Kingsway Camp were some areas developed into housing complexes to settle the refugees permanently.
Communists and Independence	In December 1947, the Communist Party of India (CPI) had denounced the Indian independence as 'fake' . The Communist insurgency spread to other parts of India

	especially in West Bengal which saw the revival of the Tebhaga Movement and an urban insurgency in Calcutta.
Why Communists were Skeptical about Independence?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They believed that a policy of class struggle and armed insurgency against the State run by the Congress, alleged as collaborationist bourgeoisie, was necessary to shift the attention of the masses from the politics of communal hatred that shrouded the country after partition. 2. Late 1940s and the early 1950s witnessed communist successes in Asian countries like China, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines and Burma (Myanmar). 3. The CPI leadership, encouraged by the initial successes of the Telangana movement, misconceived the 'scattered disillusionment with the Congress as revolutionary potential, and thought this as the 'beginning of Red India'.
Shift from Antagonistic Strategy to Constitutional Democracy	<p>Communist movement remained localised in Hyderabad and West Bengal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government also decided to take stern action; while in the Hyderabad region the Indian armed forces continued its 'police action', in West Bengal the CPI was banned in March 1948 and in January, a security act was passed to imprison the communist leaders without trial. • Decided to withdraw the Telangana movement and forge an inclusive front of the peasants, workers and middle classes.

Chapter- 34: The Indian States

1. The Company's Struggle for Equality from a Position of Subordination (1740-1765)-	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • East India Company asserted political identity with capture of Arcot (1751) ending Anglo-French rivalry in India. • With Battle of Plassey in 1757, East India Company acquired political power next only to the Bengal nawabs. • In 1765 the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the East India Company became a significant political power. 	
2. Policy of Ring Fence (1765-1813)	<p>Policy reflected in Warren Hastings' wars against the Marathas and Mysore.</p> <p>Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliance was an extension of ring fence—which sought to reduce states to a position of dependence on British Government in India</p>
3. Policy of Subordinate Isolation (1813-1857)	<p>States surrendered all forms of external sovereignty but retained sovereignty in internal administration.</p> <p>British Residents were transformed from diplomatic agents of a foreign power to executive and controlling officers of a superior government.</p> <p>This policy of annexation culminated in usurpation of eight states by Dalhousie.</p>
4. Policy of Subordinate Union (1857-1935)-	
Curzon's Approach	Curzon stretched the interpretation of old treaties to mean that the princes, in their capacity as servants of people, were supposed to work side-by-side with the governor-general in the scheme of Indian government.
Post-1905	<p>According to the recommendations of the Montford Reforms (1921), a Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal) was set up as an advisory body having no say in the internal affairs of individual states and having no powers to discuss matters. For the purpose of the chamber the Indian states were divided into three categories—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directly represented—109 • Represented through representatives—127 • Recognised as feudal holdings or jagirs.
Butler Committee	<p>Butler Committee (1927) was set up to examine the nature of relationship between the princely states and government. It gave the following recommendations—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paramountcy must remain supreme and must fulfil its obligations, adopting and defining itself according to the shifting necessities of time and progressive development of states. • States should not be handed over to an Indian Government in British India,

	responsible to an Indian legislature, without the consent of states.	
5. Policy of Equal Federation (1935-1947): A Non-Starter	The Government of India Act, 1935 proposed a Federal Assembly with 125 out of 375 seats for the princes and the Council of States with 104 out of 160 seats for the princes would come into force only after ratification by states. Thus, it never came into existence and was dropped after the outbreak of world war II.	
6. Integration and Merger		
Plebiscite and Army Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Junagarh-Muslim Nawab wanted to join Pakistan but a Hindu majority population wanted to join the Indian Union. (Plebiscite)● Hyderabad-Hyderabad wanted a sovereign status. It signed a Standstill Agreement with India in November 1947. (A police action against nizam’s police Razakkars)● Kashmir- state of Jammu and Kashmir had a Hindu prince and a Muslim majority population. Prince envisaged a sovereign status for the state and was reluctant to accede to either of the dominions. Special status of Jammu and Kashmir was recognized under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which implied a limited jurisdiction of the Indian Union over the state as compared to other states.	
Gradual Integration	Problem now was two-fold—	(i) Transforming the states into viable administrative units (ii) Absorbing them into the constitutional units.
	This was sought to be solved by—	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Incorporating smaller states (216 such states) into contiguous provinces and listed in Part A; for instance, 39 states of Orissa and Chhattisgarh were incorporated into Central Provinces, Orissa. Gujarat states were incorporated into Bombay;▪ Making some states as centrally administered for strategic or special reasons, listed in Part-C (61 states)— Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Bhopal, etc.;▪ Creating five unions—United States of Kathiawar, United States of Matsya, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, and United States of Travancore-Cochin (later Kerala).

Chapter-35: Making of the Constitution for India

1. Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitution of India was framed between December 1946 and December 1949 but its roots lie deep in the Indian national movement as well as in the movements for responsible and constitutional government in the princely states. • In the modern sense, there appeared the Constitution of India Bill (known as the Home Rule Bill) in 1895, which envisaged basic human rights. The Bill had its first reading in the House of Commons in December 1925. • After the Non-Cooperation Movement, Motilal Nehru in February 1924 introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly a resolution that gave due regard to minority rights and interests and came to be known as the National Demand. • Nehru Report, submitted on August 1928, was an outline of a draft constitution for India. Although, M.N. Roy had made such a suggestion earlier, Jawaharlal Nehru was the first national leader to enunciate the idea of constituent assembly framing the constitution in 1933. • On March 15, 1946, the Cabinet Mission came to India and, in the course of its stay, recommended the forming of (a) the Constituent Assembly, and (b) an interim government.
2. Constituent Assembly	
Formation-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constituent Assembly was to be elected indirectly by the Provincial Assemblies. They were to be elected by the representatives of each community in their respective legislative assemblies by the method of proportional representation with single transferable vote. • Constituent Assembly started on December 9, 1946 in the Constitution Hall—now the Central Hall of Parliament House at New Delhi. Jawaharlal Nehru moved the historic Objectives Resolution on 13 December 1946.

Two Constituent Assemblies	<p>India and Pakistan—On June 26, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General, announced the setting up of a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Independence Act, 1947, passed with surprising speed, came into force on July 18, 1947. • Indian Independence Act, 1947 declared the Constituent Assembly of India to be a fully sovereign body assuming powers at the midnight of August 14-15, 1947.
Evaluation of the Assembly for India	<p>Constituent Assembly was indirectly elected by the provincial assemblies which themselves were elected on the basis of a limited franchise established by the Government of India Act of 1935.</p> <p>After Independence, the work of Constituent Assembly was rganized into five stages:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. committees were required to present reports on basic issues 2. Benegal Narsing Rau prepared an initial draft on the basis of the reports of these committees and on his own research into the constitutions of other countries 3. The drafting committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, presented a detailed draft constitution which was published for public discussion and comments 4. Draft constitution was debated and amendments proposed 5. Constitution of India was adopted.
Work:	<p>Committees and Consensus—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When the Constituent Assembly first met on December 9, 1946, J.B. Kripalani, the then Congress president, proposed the name of Dr Sachhidanand Sinha, the oldest member of the Assembly, for the post of the provisional president. Later, on December 11, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected as the President of the Constituent Assembly. 2. In the light of their comments and criticism, the Drafting Committee prepared a second draft which consisted of 315 Articles and 9 Schedules which was placed before the Constituent Assembly on February 21, 1948. The draft was then considered clause by clause by the Assembly. The third reading commenced on November 14 and was finished on November 26, 1949. 3. Preamble was adopted last. It had taken 2 years, 11 months and 18 days to complete the task. As many as 7000 odd amendments had been proposed and nearly 2500 were actually discussed before the draft constitution was accepted. 4. On November 26, 1949, the people of India in the Constituent Assembly adopted, enacted and gave to themselves the Constitution of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. Dr Rajendra Prasad as president of the assembly signed the document. The members of the Constituent Assembly appended their signatures to it on January 24, 1950—the last day of the Assembly. In all, 284 members actually signed the Constitution. 5. Constituent Assembly, besides drafting the Constitution of India, adopted the National Flag on July 22, 1947, and adopted the National Anthem and National Song on January 24, 1950— the last day of its session.

Chapter-36: The Evolution of Nationalist Foreign Policy

1. 1880 to First World War: Anti- Imperialism and Pan-Asian Feeling	
a) British expansionist expeditions which were opposed by the nationalists. These expeditions included—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second Afghan War (1878-80); • Dispatching troops to suppress the nationalist uprising by Col. Arabi in Egypt; • Annexation of Burma in 1885; • Invasion of Tibet under Curzon in 1903; • A number of annexations during the 1890s in the north-west to stop the Russian advance. <p>The nationalists supported the tribal resistance to these adventures by the British.</p>
b) Emerging themes during	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solidarity with other colonies fighting for freedom (such as Russia, Ireland, Egypt, Turkey, Ethiopia, Sudan, Burma and Afghanistan);

1880-1914 were—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pan-Asian feeling reflected in— <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Condemnation of annexation of Burma in 1885, 2. Inspiration from Japan as an example of industrial development, 3. Condemnation of the Japan's role in the international suppression of the I-Ho-Tuan uprising (1895), 4. Condemnation of the imperialist efforts to divide China, 5. Defeat of the Czarist Russia by Japan which exploded the myth of European superiority, 6. Congress support for Burma's freedom. 	
2. World War I-	In 1925, the Congress condemned the dispatch of Indian Army to suppress the Chinese nationalist army under Sun-Yat-Sen.	
3. 1920s and 1930s	Identifying with Socialists- In 1927, Nehru attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalists at Brussels on behalf of the Indian National Congress	
4. After 1936	Anti-Fascism- In 1939, at the Tripuri session, the Congress dissociated itself from the British policy which supported fascism in Europe.	
5. After Independence-	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nehru is often called the architect of independent India's foreign policy. In his address to the Constituent Assembly on December 4, 1947, Nehru laid the foundations of India's foreign policy. 2. Main challenge to Nehru was to evolve a policy that could help India, needing drastic socioeconomic and technological transformation, compete on the world arena with the modern states which required 3. His objective was to transform India without becoming dependent to the extent of losing independence of thought or policy. 	
Panchsheel and Non-Alignment	Panchsheel and Non-Alignment are the foundations of India's foreign policy.	
	Panchsheel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was on April 29, 1954, that Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India. • The two governments had resolved to enter into the agreement on the basis of five principles, namely, <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mutual non-aggression 2. Mutual non-interference 3. Equality and mutual benefit 4. Peaceful co-existence. 5. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty • Panchsheel was incorporated into the Ten Principles of International Peace and Cooperation issued by the April 1955 Bandung Conference of 29 Afro-Asian countries. • And in 1961, the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade accepted Panchsheel as the basic principles of the Non-Aligned Movement.
	Non-Alignment	<p>Term 'non-alignment' got currency in the post-Bandung Conference (1955).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the first non-aligned movement or NAM summit—held in Belgrade in 1961 Jawaharlal Nehru explained the essence of non-alignment. • Non-alignment is the characteristic feature of India's foreign policy. • India was one of the founder-members of NAM. • Non-alignment as one of the principles of India's foreign policy to promote international peace, disarmament and territorial independence. • It aims at democratisation of international relations by putting an end to imperialism and hegemony and establishing a just and equal

		world order.
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Chapter-37: First General Elections

1. Groundwork for the Elections	
a) The Election Commission-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Office of the Election Commission had been set up on January 25, 1950. • The first Chief Election Commissioner of India was Sukumar Sen, an ICS officer, who assumed office on March 21, 1950. • The Election Commission of India is a permanent constitutional body, established in accordance with the Constitution. Under Article 324, the Election Commission of India has been vested with the power of the superintendence, direction and control of the entire process for conduct of elections.
b) Legislation for Polls-	Representation of the People Act, 1950 , which provided for the qualifications of voters and matters connected with the preparation and publication of electoral rolls.
2. Independent India Goes to the Polls for the First Time-	
Challenges	<p>Many eligible voters could not be included in the electoral rolls despite much effort on the part of the Election Commission because of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ignorance and apathy of the common voter. • lack of adequate organisation and experience on the part of the political parties. • Inexperience and poor organisation of the governmental machinery.
Parties in the Fray for the Lok Sabha	There were 53 political parties participating in the first general elections for the Lok Sabha seats. According to the report by the Election Commission of India these included the 14 national parties and others as the independents.
Conduct of Elections	In the first general elections of the nation, there were three types of constituencies having only 1, 2 and 3 seats . Indelible ink was introduced as a precautionary step. A mark was put on the voter's finger as he/she went in to vote so as to prevent impersonation. The first-past-the-post system was the mode, so of the many candidates, whoever got the plurality or the largest number of votes would be elected.
Results-Lok Sabha	The Indian National Congress contested 472 seats and won 364, a stupendous majority of the seats to the Lok Sabha. In the state legislature elections, too, the Indian National Congress swept the polls.

CHAPTER-38: Developments under Nehru's Leadership (1947-64)

1. Political Developments	
A. Debate Over National Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Language Committee of Constituent Assembly decided that the Hindi in Devanagari script was to be the 'official' language, but transition to Hindi would be gradual. • The language issue was further clarified by Parliament in 1963 through the Official Languages Act which stated that Hindi was to become the official language in India from 1965. • Violent protest in non-Hindi states led to the Official Languages Act (Amendment) Act of 1967, provided bilingual solution (Hindi & English) for any communication between Centre and states.
B. Linguistic Reorganisation of the States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Congress in its Nagpur Session (1920) had made efforts to recognize regional linguistic identities and divided India into 21 linguistic units for its organizational set up. • In December 1948, to pacify the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the Congress appointed a committee (JVP), with Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya as its members. Its report known as JVP Report—also went against the creation of linguistic states in the interests of national unity. • After the violent protest following Potti Sriramulu's death, the government conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra, which finally came into existence on October 1, 1953 with the region being separated from the Tamil speaking Madras state. • The creation of Andhra further intensified claims for creation of states on

	linguistic grounds in various regions. In 1953 , State Reorganization Committee(SRC) was formed comprising of Justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar, Hridayanath Kunzru. In November 1956, the States Reorganisation Act was passed which provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories.
C. Growth of other Political Parties	
Socialist Party	Formed in 1934 as Congress Socialist Party (SP) , with its own constitution, membership, discipline and ideology, it remained within the Congress Party till March 1948. In September 1952, the CSP merged with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP) to form a new party— Praja Socialist Party (PSP) .
Praja Socialist Party	In September 1952 , the Socialist Party and the KMPP merged to form Praja Socialist Party (PSP), with J.B. Kripalani as the chairman and Ashoka Mehta as the general secretary. It was the largest opposition party. Rammanohar Lohia's approach guided the party . Lohia believed in a position of equidistance from both the Congress and the Communists and supported the organisation of militant mass movements.
The Communist Party	The official stand taken by the Communist Party of India towards the changing sociopolitical dynamics went through alterations. It first accepted India's independent foreign policy though it still considered the government to be an agent of imperialism. Split in CPI —In 1964, the party got divided into, CPI —representing the earlier 'right' and 'centrist' trends, and CPM or the Communist Party (Marxist)—representing the earlier 'left' trend.
Bharatiya Jan Sangh	The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, founded on October 21, 1951, was based on right wing ideology . The Jan sangh was a creation of RSS and drew organized strength, centralized character and ideological homogeneity.
The Swatantra Party	Founded in August 1959, the Swatantra Party was a nonsocialist, constitutionalist and secular conservative party. The social base of the party was narrow and consisted of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. a section of industrialists and business class, discontented with government control, quotas and licences and fearful of nationalisation; II. landlords, jagirdars and princes, annoyed due to loss of fiefdoms, social power and status, and deteriorating economic conditions; III. ex-landlord-turned capitalist farmers and rich and middle peasants, who had welcomed the abolition of landlordism but were fearful of losing part of their land; and a few retired civil servants.
Communal and Regional Parties-	The Hindu Mahasabha was founded in 1915 at Haridwar by Madan Mohan Malaviya , gradually disappeared from the political scene after 1952 and lost its support base to the Bharatiya Jana Sangh . The Muslim League, owing to its association with the demand for Pakistan, lay dormant and many of its leaders joined the Congress Party and other parties. Later, it revived in parts of Tamil Nadu and in Kerala and was to become coalition partners of the Congress, CPI and CPM in coming years. The Akali Dal gave way to Shiromani Akali Dal and remained limited to Punjab. The other regional parties came into prominence.
D. An Undemocratic Deed	In 1957 non-congress government was formed in Kerala. Also, it was the first democratically elected communists' government. An Education Bill which was, in actuality, a progressive measure was vehemently opposed by the Catholic Church in the state of Kerala. So, the local congressmen who had lost elections organized protests & strikes in the state . Nehru, though he had little objection to the education bill, maintained a neutral front in public. In the end, he succumbed to pressure from within and outside his party and advised the dismissal of the EMS government and imposition of President's Rule in Kerala in July 1959. A democratically elected government was thus, for the first time in independent India, dismissed under emergency powers.
2. Concept of Planning for Economic Development	
Planning Commission	An extra-constitutional body , was set up in March 1950 by a simple resolution of the Government of India. The National Development Council (NDC) , which was to give final approval to the plans, was established on August 6, 1952.
First FiveYear Plan, (1951-1956)	Based on Harrod-Domar model , sought to get the nation's economy out of the cycle of poverty. It addressed, mainly, the agrarian sector including investments in dams and irrigation.
Second Plan	Drafted under the leadership of P.C. Mahalanobis , stressed on heavy industries .
Third Plan	Was not significantly different from the Second.

3. Progress of Science and Technology		<p>To emphasise the value of science and scientific research, Nehru himself assumed the chairmanship of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Some of the strides taken in this direction, are given below.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• In January 1947, to promote self-sustaining, scientific and technological growth, the National Physical Laboratory— India’s first national laboratory—was set up; which was followed by the setting up of a network of seventeen national laboratories, focusing on different areas of research.• In 1952, the first of the five institutes of technology, patterned after the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was set up at Kharagpur.• The Atomic Energy Commission, headed by Homi J. Bhabha, was set up in August 1948. Nehru personally encouraged Bhabha to do his best. In 1954, the government created a separate Department of Atomic Energy with Homi Bhabha as secretary. In August 1956, India’s first nuclear reactor in Trombay (Asia’s first also), became critical.• In 1962, the Indian National Committee for Space Research (INCOSPAR), together with a Rocket Launching Facility at Thumba (TERLS), was established.• Steps were taken to increase India’s capacity in production of defence equipment.• A change over to decimal coinage and a metric system of weights and measures, in line with international standards, was made in phases between 1955 and 1962.
4. Social Developments-		
1. Developments in Education-	<p>In 1951 only 16.6 per cent of the total population was literate and the percentage was much lower in rural areas. In 1949, the Indian University Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was set up. On the recommendation of the commission, the University Grants Commission (UGC) was set up in 1953, and University Grants Commission Act was passed in 1956. To assist and advise the Central and state governments on academic matters related to school education, the National council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) was established in September 1961 as a literary, scientific and charitable society.</p>	
2. Social Change Under Nehru	<p>In 1955, the government passed the Anti-Untouchability Law, making the practice of untouchability punishable and a cognizable offence. For women’s equal rights in the society, the Hindu Code Bill was moved in Parliament in 1951.</p>	
5. Foreign Policy	<p>The basic principles of India’s foreign policy, during Nehruvian Era, broadly revolved around the premises given below.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Disapproval of participation in any military alliance either bilaterally or multilaterally.• An independent foreign policy not tied to any of the two contending power blocs, though this was not a synonym for a neutral foreign policy.• A policy of friendship with every country, whether of the American bloc or of the Soviet bloc.• An active anti-colonial policy which supported decolonisation in Asian-African-Latin American countries.• Open support to the policy of anti-apartheid.• Promotion of disarmament as the key to world peace.	
6. Relations with Neighbours		
A. India and Pakistan	Kashmir Issue	<p>Pakistan refused to accept Kashmir’s accession to India on October 26, 1947. In response to the Pakistan-sponsored tribal attack, India, supported by the local population under Sheikh Abdullah, undertook a swift military action. But, unfortunately, before the task of rescuing the territory could be accomplished, a complaint was lodged by Nehru with the Security Council in January 1948. This resulted in a ceasefire on January 1, 1949.</p>
	Indus River Water Dispute	<p>Equitable sharing of the waters of the Indus system had been an issue of discord since partition. The partition gave India 5 million of the 28 million acres of land irrigated by the Indus. So, under the guidance of the World Bank, an interim agreement on canal waters was signed on April 17, 1959. Subsequently, a comprehensive agreement between the two countries, was signed on September 19, 1960 in Karachi.</p>
B. India and China	Developments in Tibet &	<p>To maintain peace, Nehru in 1954 concluded an agreement with China, which formalised the Chinese occupation of Tibet. The agreement is</p>

	Panchsheel	popularly known as Panchsheel .
	Sino-India War, 1962-	In October 1962, China attacked India in NEFA (Arunachal Pradesh) and Ladakh. Thus, a war between the two countries started, which ended in a military debacle for India. The Western powers—the USA as well as Britain—pledged support to India and were already flying arms to India. In November 1962, China made a unilateral declaration of its withdrawal. Consequences of Sino-Indian War- I. The war gave a big blow to the self-respect of India. II. The policy of non-alignment came under question. III. The Congress lost three parliamentary by-elections in a row and Nehru had to face the first no- confidence motion of his life.
C. India and Nepal	The geographical location of Nepal has made it inseparable from India from the point of view of India's external security. Being conscious of this factor, India signed a treaty with Nepal in July 1950 by which it recognised Nepal's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.	
D. India and Bhutan	In August 1949, the two countries signed a treaty for perpetual peace and friendship . India undertook to exercise non-interference in the internal administration of Bhutan, while Bhutan agreed to be guided by the advice of government of India in regard to its external relations.	
E. India and Sri Lanka	The Indian government, considering the ethnic disputes in Sri Lanka to be an internal matter of that country, remained friendly towards Sri Lanka.	